

THE
HISTORIE
OF
THE LIFE AND
DEATH
OF
Mary Stuart
QUEENE OF
SCOTLAND.



LONDON,
Printed by *John Haviland*, and
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THE
HISTORIE

OF
THE LIFE AND
DEATH

OF
JAMES SIMON
QUEEN OF
SCOTLAND.



LONDON:
Printed by J. Sturges, at the
sign of the Lion, in
St. Dunstons Church-yard,
in the Strand, 1686.

TO
THE KINGS
MOST EXCEL
LENT MAJESTY.

Most Dread Sovereigne,

ZENO the Phi
losopher, be
ing asked how
a man might
attaine wisdome, answere
d, By drawing neere un
to the dead. O the Sepul
chers of our Ancestors,

A 3 how

The Epistle

how much more do they teach than all the studie, bookes, and precepts of the learned !

And herein due praise must needs be ascribed unto Historie, the life of memorie, and the mirror of mans life, making those Heroick acts to live againe, which otherwise would be buried in eternall forgetfulnessse, whereby the minde (a greedy Hunter after knowledge) is enflamed, by affecting the severall perfections of others, to seek

Dedicatorie.

seek after excellent things,
and by fervent imitation
to attaine to that glory
which is gotten by ver-
tue.

For these causes, (most
renowned Sovereigne)
when I considered *Plu-
tarke*, laying aside the
 studie of Philosophie, to
 thinke the time well im-
 ployed in writing the
 lives of *Theseus*, of *Ari-
 stides*, and of other infe-
 rior persons; and know-
 ing how farre the lustre
 and splendor of Princes
 shineth beyõd the bright-

The Epistle

nesse of others; every one
standing for a million of
the common people:
And being sensible that it
is infused even by nature,
every man to desire, and
to be delighted with the
relation and story of his
owne Ancestors and pre-
decessors:

For these reasons I pre-
sumed to present unto
your Highnesse this Trea-
tise of the life and death
of your Royall Mother,
the Lady MARY STV-
ART Queene of Scotland;
A Historie most fit for
this

Dedicatorie.

this your *Meridian* of
Great Britaine, and yet
never published in the
English tongue before:
Wherein, although I con-
fesse the slenderesse of
my skill in the exornati-
on & beautifying of the
stile, and thereby may
worthily incurre the re-
prooffe of the learned: yet
if your Majestie vouch-
safe your gracious and
Princely acceptation, all
faults therein shall easily
be covered and blotted
out. Therefore I become
your humble Oratour,

A 5 pray-

The Epistle &c.

praying no other thing
than the Sunne Diall of
the Sunne, *Aspice me ut a-*
spiciar: most humbly be-
seeching the Almighty
to blesse your most Ex-
cellent Majestie, with a
long, happie, and pro-
sperous Reigne.

Your Sacred Majesties

most humble Subject,

W. V DALL.



THE
PREFACE TO
THE ENSUING
HISTORIE.

IT is a thing most true, and some find it by experience, that here below in this world, there is nothing eternall: And how can it be otherwise, when the great Kings and Princes of the earth, who seeme to be created of the most pure substance of the Elements, of a matter, as may be said, for their excellency incorruptible, of the fine gold of Evilath, and of the best mould, so
the

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the patterne of the fairest Ideas,
and beare and carry the Image
and Scale of all puissance, as
the chiefe impression of natures
worke, in the plaine greatnesse
of Majesty, which engraveth their
forehead with a gracious stateli-
nesse. Yet doe we see them every
day, who seeme unto men to be
lasting and durable, as eternitie
it selfe, to quit the arches of tri-
umph, and to yeeld themselves
unto the triumph of death. And
more than that, the most part of
them finish their dayes, not in the
sweet and calme waters, like
Pourcontrells, but by a death
disseasoned, sometimes in their
greene youth, and flourishing
age, by the stormes and tempests,
as doe the Dolphins, within the
currents, billowes, or waves of
the Sea, tossed by divers factions.
And it seemeth that this fatalitie

pur

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pursueth ordinarily the most worthy and vertuous persons: so that they finish their lives many times with violence or precipitation; and not to goe unto their death in a smooth path, but to be interrupted with some strange accident, which eclipseth the bright shining lustre of their greatnesse, which dasheth the minds of men, that from below beheld them sitting aloft on the throne of Majesty. All which appeared most plainly and evidently to be true in the most worthy and royall Princeesse MARY STUART Queene of Scotland, who in all her life being tossed and turmoiled with infinite misfortunes, concluded it with an untimely death, as followeth in the sequell of this Historie of her life and death.

MARY STUART Queene of Scotland, was daughter unto
James

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James the first, King of Scotland, a wise and valiant Prince, and of the Lady MARY, of the Illustrious family of the Dukes of Lorraine, (whose fame for valour is renowned thorow all Christendome,) was borne on the eighth day of December in the yeare of our Lord 1541. Shee was not above eight dayes old when her father died: being left thus young, the Noblemen of Scotland being divided (whereof the family of the Hamiltons and the Earle of Lynnox being the heads,) the one side supported by King Henry the eighth of England, and the other by the French K. Henry the second; she was by the care of her Mother, who inclined unto the French King, at the age of six yeares or thereabouts, sent into France in the Gallies of Villagagnon, a Knight of the

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Rhodes

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Rhodes appointed by the Frēch King unto this service, in the which voyage by the West Seas (for in the other passage neere the Straits of Calice, the Englishmen had laid a strong Navy to intercept her) she hardly escaped drowning by meanes of a storme or tempest that happened, neere unto the Coast of little Britaine in France, where she afterward tooke land, from whence she was conveyed unto the Court of France, where she was brought up under her Curators the Frēch King and the Dukes of Guise, and by their exquisite care shee drew in with the ayre the sweetnesse of the humours of the countrey, and in the end by the singular grace of nature, and carefulnesse of her friends and kinsfolks, became with her age the fairest & goodliest Princeesse of our time.

And

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And beside this her rare beantie,
she had her understanding and
intendment so pure and perfect,
her judgement so certaine, sur-
mounting, and above the condi-
tion of her age and sex, that it
bred and caused in her a great-
nesse of courage, which was yet
mixt and qualified with such
sweetnesse and modesty, that you
could not see anything more Roy-
all, any thing more gracious.
Her manners and private acti-
ons were such, and were so well
liked of generally, that it caused
King Henry the second of France
and his Queene (who was admi-
red for her prudence) to marry
their eldest sonne, Daulphin of
France and heire of their Crown,
unto this Lady, as unto one well
deserving to be joyned in marri-
age unto their sonne, heire appa-
rant of the greatest Kingdome in
Europe :

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Europe: And so upon the foure
and twentieth day of Aprill, in
the yeare of our Lord 1558.
Francis the Daulphin of France
and MARY STUART Queene of
Scotland, were married in the
Church of Nostra Dama in Pa-
ris. One cannot declare with what
applause of all the people, with
what congratulation of all the
neighbour Princes, with what
Magnificence, this marriage was
solemnized. By this her marriage
her husband obtained not onely
the Title of King of Scotland in
the right of his wife, but also an-
other more rich and great, which
was, of the most contented Prince
the earch then beheld, for that he
was joyned in marriage with a
Princessse who besides many other
great vertues composed her selfe
wholly to please and to give con-
tent unto her husband, and ther-
in

THE PREFACE.

in used not the ordinary care of a
 Princeſſe, but more travell and
 ſollicitude than doe the women
 of meane condition and qualitie
 married unto great Princes, as
 alſo appeared after his death
 (which befell not long after) by
 her immeaſurable mourning, not
 being able to finde any conſolati-
 on for her ſorrow in that place
 where ſhee had loſt that which
 ſhee had loved better than her
 ſelfe, ſo much that the amitie of
 her kinsfolks and allies could not
 retaine her, nor the ſorrow and
 regret of all France could not
 call her backe, nor the ſweetneſſe
 of that Court which invited her
 could not ſtay her, but that ſhee
 would depart from thence.

After this on the ſeventeenth
 day of November the ſame year
 deceased Mary of England; at
 which time the Parliament was
 holden

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holden at Westminster, being certified of her death, with a universall consent, in regard of her most certaine right unto the Crowne of England (of the which none could doubt,) both the Prelates and Nobles with the Commons agreed to have the Lady ELIZABETH proclaimed Queene, which was done with the generall applause and consent of them and all the people.

Queene ELIZABETH being established and having taken order for things at home, and domesticall affaires, applied her minde next to settle her affaires abroad: For which end it was thought fit to send Embassadors unto Princes to signifie unto them the death of Queene MARY, and her succession unto the Kingdom: Unto Ferdinand the Emperour was sent Thomas Challenor
with

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with letters, wherein the Queene under her owne hand, certified him that her sister Queene MARY was dead, and that she by the goodnesse of God was succeeded as her rightfull heire, and with the generall consent of her Subjects, in the government of the Realme; and that she desired nothing more, than that the ancient League and amitie betweene the families of England & Austria might not onely be conserued but also increased. Vnto the King of Spaine, being in his Low Countries, was sent the Lord Cobham with instructions to the same purpose.

King Philip understanding the decease of Queen MARY his wife, fearing lest England, Scotland, and Ireland, should be adjoynd unto France by meanes of the Queene of Scotland her Title,
delr

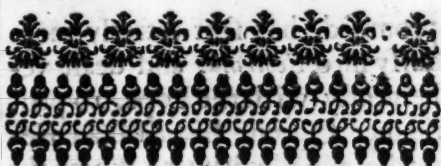
THE PREFACE.

delt seriously with Queene ELIZABETH by the Conde of Feria, whom he had sent before to visit his sicke wife, and the then Lady ELIZABETH also, about his marriage with her, promising to procure a dispensation for the same. This motion troubled her much, for to reject the most mighty King of Europe (having deserved well of her) & suing to her for marriage upon his own motion: This thing no lesse disquieted the French King, who was also fearfull that England & Spain should be conioyned againe in one by marriage; therefore he did all that was possible to be done at Rome, by the Bishop of Angulesme, that no such dispensation should be granted, but yet very secretly, lest he should provoke the Englishmen against him: but she put him off with a modest
and

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and shamefast answer. And when he saw that he could not obtaine his suit for himselfe, and had also given it quite over, being agreed with the French King to marry his daughter, yet that the Kingdome of England might be retained in his family still, hee moved the Emperour Ferdinand to commend one of his sonnes to be a suiter unto Queene ELIZABETH, which motion he willingly entertained, and for that purpose sent unto her very loving letters, and by Gaspar Preynerus, free Baron in Stibing, diligently followed and prosecuted the same, the King of Spaine himselfe also, to bring it the sooner to passe, and to further it, most courteously offering and promising unto Queene ELIZABETH his singular love, kindnesse, and affection.

THE



THE
LIFE, DEATH,
AND VARIABLE
fortunes of the most
gracious **Queene**,
MARY STUART
Queene of Scotland.

Anno 1559.



He *French King*,
Henry the second,
for the benefit of
his sonne the *Dol-*
phin King, and
MARIE *Queene*
of *Scots* (casting his eyes upon *Eng-*
land) did not withdraw his *French*
Souldiers out of *Scotland*, as he had
pro-

promised, but sent secretly more daily into *Scotland*, and dealt vehemently with the Pope, to pronounce *Queene Elizabeth* an Heretike, and illegitimate, which the Emperour and the King of *Spaine*, most diligently, but coverly, sought to hinder : yet had the *Guises* drawne the *French King* into such a sweet hope of adjoyning *England* unto the Crowne of *France*, by the title of their Niece the *Queene of Scots*, that he openly claimed the same in the right of his sonne and daughter in law : And commanded them, when he could not obtaine his purpose at *Rome*, to use this title in all their Letters patents ; *FRANCIS* and *MARIE* by the grace of God, of *Scotland, England, and Ireland*, King and *Queene*, and caused the armes of *England*, together with the armes of *Scotland*, to be painted in the walls, buildings, and in the household-stuffe : and also to be put into the *Heralds coats*. The *English*

Ambassador in vaine complained, that herein great wrong was done unto *Queen Elizabeth*, with whom he had made lately a league, and had not done this to *Queene M A R I E of England*, who had proclaimed warre against him. But *Henries* sudden death, which happened shortly after, made an end of his attempts.

But *Francis* the second (who succeeded him) and *Mary Queene of Scots* his wife (by the counsell of the *Guises*, who were then of great authoritie in *France*) bore themselves openly as Kings of *England* and *Ireland*, neither did they abstaine from claiming the armes, but set them out more and more. And unto *Nicholas Throgmorton* the Lieger Ambassador, a man both wise and stout, it was first answered: That it was lawfull for the *Queene of Scots* to beare them with some little difference, to shew the nearenesse of her bloud unto the royall line of *England*. He stily
B denied

denied it, saying that by the Law of Armes, none who was not begot of the certaine Heire, might beare the armes of any family. Afterward they said they bore the armes for no other cause, than to cause the Queene of *England* to abstain from bearing the armes of *France*. Yet at length he obtained at the intercession of *Mont Morancy*, who loved not the *Guisers*, that they left off the armes of *England* and *Ireland* altogether. But yet from this title and usurpation of armes, which *Henrie* made the young Queene of *Scots* to take on her (moved there-to by the *Guisers*) proceeded all the evils, which came so thicke upon her afterward, as from the originall cause. For from hence Queene *Elizabeth* was an open and professed enemy to the *Guisers*, and bare a secret hate against her, which the craftie malice of men did so nourish, the emulation increasing betweene them, and new occasions arising daily, that they could not be

extinguished, but with her death.

Anno 1560.

Then followed the Treatie of *Edenburgh*, wherein amongst many other things, it was agreed, that the King of *France* & *Queene* *MARIE* should leave off the bearing of the title and armes of *England* and *Ireland*: but when the time of confirming the same came, and *Queene Elizabeth* sent into *France* to have it ratified (as shee had done) *Throgmorton* the Leiger Embassador could not bring them to doe it by any meanes; and whilest the matters hung in suspence, and rested vnderdetermined, *Francis* the second, King of *France*, not being eightene yeare old, and in the second yeare of his reigne, deceased, and left the *Queene of Scots* a widow, whether to the greater griefe of the *Romanists*, or joy of the *Protestants* in *Britaine*, I cannot say.

Anno 1561.

FRANCIS Earle of Bedford, was sent into France, to deplore the death of King Francis, and to gratulate Charles the ninth, his successor, and by himselfe, and together with Throgmorton the ordinary Embassador, he importuned the Queene of Scots to confirme the Treatie of *Edenburgh*, but in vaine, for shee answered no other thing, but that shee could not, nor would not determine on so great a matter, without the consent of the Nobilitie of Scotland. *vd 31 206*

The Queene of Scots intending to returne into Scotland, sent *Monsieur d'Oysel* to request a safe conduct of Queene Elizabeth for to passe by Sea, and for *d'Oysel*, to passe thorow England. Queene Elizabeth before a great multitude of people, denied both the one, and the other, for this cause, she said that she had not ratified the treatie

of

of *Edenburgh*, which if shee did, shee promised to shew all kindnesse that might be expected from a *Queene*, from a *Cousin*, and from a *Neighbour*. The *Queene of Scots* being vexed at this repulse, sent for *Throgmorton*, with whom shee had long speeches about this matter, which I will briefly set downe out of the Letters of *Throgmorton*, (though I shall make reherfall of some things already said) that the originall and progresse of the privie malice which was between the greatest and wisest Princesses of our time or age, may more evidently appeare. Shee sending all the standers by away, said thus to *Throgmorton*; What is my womanly weaknesse, and how farre the passion of my minde may carrie me, I know not, yet it liketh me not to have so many witnesses of my weaknesse, as your Lady lately had when shee talked with *Monsieur d'Oysel* my Embassador: nothing grieveth me so much as that I did

aske those things which were not needfull : by Gods favour I can returne into my Countrie, without asking her leave, as I came hither in despite of her brother *Edward*. Neither want I friends which can and will bring me home, as they brought me hither ; but I had rather have used her friendship, than of any other. I have often heard you say, that the amitie betweene her and me was necessary to both our Kingdomes, yet it seemeth that shee thinketh otherwise, or else she had not given me the repulse in so small a matter : but perhaps shee beareth more favour unto the *Scots*, which rebell against me, than to me the *Queene of Scots*, equall to her in princely royaltie, her nearest kinswoman, and most certaine heire unto her. Dost thou thinke that that good will and love can be between my rebellious subjects and her, that may be betweene her and me ? What ? Doth shee thinke that I shall be destitute
of

offriends? Assuredly she hath driven me to aske helpe of them of whom I would not willingly. And they cannot wonder enough for what purpose shee gave ayd lately unto my subjects, and now to hinder the returne of me a widow unto my subjects. I aske nothing of her but amitie, I procure no trouble unto her, nor meddle nor with the affaires of *England*. But yet I am not ignorant that there be many in *England* who are not content with the estate as it is now. Shee twitteth me, and saith, that I have small experience; I confesse it: Age bringeth experience with it, yet I am so old, that I can behave my selfe friendly, kindly, and justly toward my kinsfolkes and friends, and keepe my tongue from speaking any thing, not be-seeming a *Queene* and a kinswoman. But by her leave, I may say, that as well as shee I am a *Queene*, neither destitute of friends, and to beare no lesse high minde than she,

and it may besecme us to measure our selves with a certaine equalitie : but I forbear comparison, which is litile better than contention, and wanteth not evill will. As for the treatie of *Edenburgh*, it was made in the life of the King my husband, whom it was my dutie to obey in all things, and since that he delaied the confirmation of the same, let the blame remaine in him, and not in me.

After his death, the Counsellors of *France* left me to mine owne Counsellors, neither would mine Uncles meddle with the affaires of *Scotland*, because they would not offend *Queene Elizabeth*, nor the *Scots*. The *Scots* that be with me be private men, nor such fit men that I should aske counsell of them in such great matters. As soone as I shall have the advice of the Estates of my Realme, I will make a reasonable answer; and I will make all the haste I can home, to give it the sooner. But shee determineth to
stop

stop my way, lest I should give it, so shee is the cause that I cannot satisfie her; or else shee would not be satisfied perhaps, for the intent that there may be no end of discord betweene us. Shee casteth often in my teeth, that I am a young girle, as a reproach, and truly shee may justly thinke me an unwise girle if I dealt in these weightie affaires, without the advice of the Estates. A wife is not bound, as I have heard, with the deeds of her husband, neither in her honour, nor in conscience: but I doe not dispute this thing, yet I may say this thing truly; I have done nothing to my dearest sister, which I would not have done to my selfe; I have used all offices of courtesie and kindred, but shee either beleeueth not, or contemneth them: I would to God I were so deare to her as I am neare of blood, for it is were a precious kind of kindred. God forgive them that sow the seeds of dissention betweene us (if there be any such.)

But thou who art an Embassador, tell me in good sooth, for what cause thee is so displeased with me, who never hurt her hitherto either in word or deed.

To these speeches *Throgmorton* made answer : I have no commission to answer you, but to heare what your answer is, about the confirmation of the treatie of *Edenburgh*. But if it please you to heare the cause of displeasure, I will lay it downe in few words (laying aside the person of an Embassador.) As soone as the Queene my Ladie and Mistresse was crowned, you did usurpe the title and armes of *England*, which you did not take in the reigne of Queene *MARIE*; Judge you in your discretion if a greater wrong can be offered unto a Prince : Such injuries as this, private men cannot digest, much lesse Princes.

But, said she, my husbands father, and my husband himselfe would have it done, and commanded

ded it to be so. After their decease, when I was at mine owne hand, I left off wholly both those armes, and the title, but yet I know not how it can be any wrong to the Queene, if I also a Queene, whose Grand-mother was eldest sister unto *Henry the eight*, doe beare these armes, since others farther off than I bore them : I am sure, *Courtney Marquesse of Exceter*, and the *Duchesse of Suffolke*, Niece unto *Henry the eight*, by his younger sister, did beare the armes of *England*, with borders for a difference, by a speciall favour.

When these things did not satisfie *Queene Elizabeth*, who was fully perswaded that she put in delays still upon some more hopes, since shee had not proposed unto the Estates of *Scotland*, who had once or twice assembled since her husbands death, any thing about the confirmation of the Treatie, She being vpon her way, sent for *Throgmorton* againe unto *Abbeville*,
 where

where she courteously asked him, how she might satisfie Queene Elizabeth in word or deed; he said, by ratifying the treatie of *Edenburgh* (as I have often said) unto whom she said: Now heare and judge, if there be not most just reasons, which she calleth delates and vaine excuses: The first Article in it, of ratifying the treatie of *Chasteau Cambresy*, betweene *England* and *France*, pertaineth nothing unto me. The second, of ratifying the treatie betweene *England* and *Scotland*, was ratified by my husband and me; neither can it be ratified againe, when my husband is expressly named in it. The Articles 3, 4, and 5, are already performed, for the preparations for warre are ceased. The *French* Souldiers are called backe out of *Scotland*, and the Fortresse of *Amoyth* is demolished, I have not borne nor used the title nor armes of *England* since my husbands death. It is not in my power to put them out of the household

household Ruffe, buildings, and Letters patents through *France*, as it is not in my power to send into *England* the Bishop of *Valence* and *Randon*, who are not my subjects, to dispute about the sixth Article: And for the last Article, I hope my seditious subjects shall not have cause to complaine of my severitie. But as I perceive, shee will prevent me by stopping my returne, that they shall not have triall of my clemencie: what remaineth now in this treatie, which may be wrong to the *Queene*? Yet that I may give her satisfaction more abundantly, I will write larger Letters of this businesse with mine owne hand, though shee doth not vouchsafe to write backe vnto me, but by her Secretarie: But I pray you my Lord Embassador, doe the part of an Embassador, that is, rather mollifie than exasperate the matter.

But yet *Queene Elizabeth* was not satisfied with these Letters, in whose minde the injurie for the using

king of the armes and title of *England* was deeply imprinted, and still shee was afraid, lest shee should challenge them againe, if she were not bound and tyed thereto by the confirmation of the treatie and the religion of an oath.

In the meane while the *Q.* of *Scotland* getting a good gale of wind, departed from *Calice*, and in a foggie mist passing by the *English* ships, which some thought were sent to Sea to convey her with honour; others, to suppress Pirates, and as others said, to intercept and take her, arrived safe in *Scotland*: For *James* the Bastard very lately returning by *England*, had secretly willed *Queene Elizabeth* to take her by the way, if shee had a desire to provide for Religion, and her owne securitie. And *Lidington* being glad that *d'Oysel* was detained in *England*, perswaded it also. Shee being returned into *Scotland*, used her subjects with all courtesie, changed not their

their Religion (though it had bin brought in by tumults) and began to settle the Common-wealth by enacting good Lawes : But unto *Queene Elizabeth* shee sent *Lidington* with her owne, and the Letters of the *Scottish* Nobilitie, in the which shee promised all care to make & conserue amitie with her; and requested that a certain forme of peace might be made betweene *England & Scotland*, and that there was none more certaine, than if *Queene Elizabeth* (if shee should have no issue) would declare her by the authoritie of Parliament, the next heire to succeed her in the Realme of *England*.

This thing seemed strange unto *Queene Elizabeth*, who looked for the confirmation of the treatie of *Edenburgh*, promised by word, and by her hand writing: yet shee answered; *As concerning the succession, shee hoped the Queen of Scotland would not by violence take her Crowne away from her and her children, if shee*

bad

had any: shee promised not to derogate any thing of her right unto the Crowne of England, although shee had claimed the title & armes of England, through the too much bastie ambition of other men, for which iniurie it was meet that shee made satisfaction. By setting downe her successor, shee feared lest their friendship should be rather dissevered than consolidated, for that unto men established in government, their successors are alwayes suspected and hated: the people, such is their inconstancie upon a dislike of present things, doe looke after the rising Sunne, and forsake the Sunne setting; and the successors designed cannot keepe within the bounds of Iustice and truth, their owne hopes and other mens lewd desires: Moreover, if shee should confirme the succession unto her, shee should thereby cut off the hope of her owne securitie, and being alive, hang her winding-sheet before her owne eyes, yea, make her owne funerall feast alive, and see the same.

After shee had answered these things

things thus, shee did againe, sending her Letters unto her by *Peter Mentar*, mildly will her to confirme the treatie. Neither did the other directly deny it, but insinuated, that shee could not doe it, untill shee had set the affaires of *Scotland* in good order.

Anno 1562.

M *Argaret Countesse of Lyn-*
naue, Niece to King *Henry*
the eight by his eldest sister, was delivered as prisoner to *Richard Sackvill*, and her husband the Earle of *Lennox* was assigned unto the Master of the Rolls in the like manner, for that he had secret intelligence by Letters, with the *Queene of Scots*, in which custodie both of them were kept a good space.

Not long after, *Henry Sidney* was sent unto the *Queene of Scots*, whose message was, that the enter-
view

view which he had desired to have with *Queene Elizabeth*, might be put off unto the next yeare, or untill the *French* warres were waxen colder.

At this time it was consulted, whether it was for any good purpose, that these two Princesses should come unto an enterview or conference: For, that the *Queene of Scotland* required it, bred a suspicion, that shee did it for some commoditie or benefit, and to espie some advantage, either to strengthen her right in *England*, or else to give a hope, and erect the minds of the Papists in *England*, and her Cousins the *Guises* in *France*. On the other side, others thought hereby a most firme amitie might be concluded betweene them, the league betweene the *French* and the *Scots* weakened by little and little, and the *Queene of Scots* wonne by faire words unto the Religion of the Protestants. Others noted, that out of such enter-

terviewes or conferences, grew the seeds rather of emulation, than of love, when one should hate and repine at the ostentation of the others braverie, wealth, and power, and for that many times the presence and view is not answerable unto report and opinion; and so of the comelinesse of the body, of the beautie of the face, and of the gifts of the minde: And that one might have cause and occasion to finde fault with the other. Neither did the *Queene of Scotland* thinke it safe to deliver her selfe into the hands of *Queene Elizabeth*, with whom shee had contended for the right of the Kingdome: It made her to stagger, and to doubt in the matter, and also to which side to incline and sway, when shee heard that *Queene Elizabeth* stood openly for the Protestants in *France*: whilest shee considered (as shee wrote her selfe) that shee came by her father from the *English* blond, and by her mother from the *French*,
that

that shee was crowned Queene, and Dowager of *France*, and the most rightfull Heire of *England*, and withall expected the Kingdome thereof: That shee was much indebted unto her Vncles in *France*, which had brought her up, and that shee much desired the love of *Queene Elizabeth*.

Yet shee feared, such was her piercing understanding, lest if shee joyned her selfe with her in a very strict kinde of amitie, shee might procure the evill will of the *French King*, be abandoned by her Vncles, and lose her dowrie out of *France*, by preferring the uncertain friendship of *Queene Elizabeth* (which, to use her owne words, passed not beyond the person) before the certaine love of the *French*. Hereupon the conference (which had beene treated of many moneths, and the Articles also drawne) came to nothing, especially when shee by her Letters did utterly refuse to come unto the interview, except shee might

might be designed heire apparant of *England* by authoritie of Parliament, or else be adopted by *Queene Elizabeth* to be her daughter, to lay a foundation of a most certaine peace and union of both the Realmes, so often desired. If these things were granted, shee promised to addict her selfe wholly to *Queene Elizabeth*, yea, and not to respect and regard her Vncles the *Guises*. Also in these Letters shee insinuated that shee urged these things the more vehemently, for that shee had heard that many did secretly devise to set in another successor, and that onely for the cause of Religion, though shee did tolerate in *Scotland* the Religion of the Protestants.

But when the Cardinall of *Lorraine*, at the same time dealt with the Emperour *Ferdinand*, that shee might marrie with his son *Charles* the Archduke, who then sued unto *Q. Elizabeth* for marriage; *Queene Elizabeth* threatned her by *Thomas*

Randolph, that if shee did consent unto the Cardinall (the mortall enemy of *England*) about that marriage, both that the amitie between *England* and *Scotland* might be dissolved, and perhaps she excluded from her hope of the Realme of *England*: and if she would not misse thereof, she in friendly manner willed her to choose such a husband in *England*, in whose choice shee might principally give her selfe content, and then give satisfaction to her owne Subjects, and also to the *English* men, in the conservation of the peace, and make the way smoother and plainer vnto her assured succession in *England*, which cannot be published and made knowne untill it was certainly knowne whom shee would take to her husband.

Anno 1563.

WHen in the heat of the ciuill warres of *France*, the Duke

Duke of *Guise*, Vncle unto the Q. of *Scotland*, was slaine, her dowrie out of *France* was not paid, *Hamilton D. of Chasteauleroy* was deprived of his Duchie, and the *Scots* were displaced from the Captainship of the Guard, which things she tooke in very evill part: The Cardinall of *Lorraine*, another of her Vncles, fearing lest hereupon shee leaving the *French*, should cleave unto the amitie of *England*, he proposed againe by *Croesus*, the marriage with *Charles d' Austria*, offering to her the Countie of *Tyrek* for her dowrie. Shee acquainted *Queene Elizabeth* with the matter, who by *Randolph* gave her those former admonitions about the choosing of a husband (as I have said before) and then in plainer termes commended *Robert Dudley* (whose wife being the heire of *Robert*, was killed a good while since, by falling downe a paire of staires) and promised that if shee would marry him, she should be declared by the authoritie of Par-

Parliament, sister, or daughter, and heire apparant of *England*, if shee died without issue. As soone as the *Queene-mother* and her *Vncles* heard this by *Foix* the *French* Embassador in *England*, they did so disdain the marriage with *Dudley*, as altogether unequall and unworthy to match in a royall stocke and linage, as they promised not onely to pay her dowrie, but also to restore unto the *Scots* all their former liberties, and more large also, if she would persist firmly in the friendship of *France*, and refuse the marriage offered unto her: and also they suggested and put in her head, that *Queene Elizabeth* did propose this marriage not seriously, but colourably, as though shee had assigned *Dudley* for her owne husband: And that there was no cause why shee should put any trust or confidence in the authoritie of a Parliament, since that in *England* one Parliament may repeale that which another hath enacted.

acted. Moreover, that the purposes of the *English* men were no other, but by one meanes or other to keepe her alwayes from marriage. But yet she referred this matter unto conference, being wonderfully vexed and troubled at home, when *Murrey* cast into prison the Archbishop of Saint *Andrewes*, because he abstained not from saying Masse, unto whom she hardly got pardon, with shedding of teares. And the hot spirited Ministers of the Church, bolstered by the authoritie of *Murrey*, offered violence (without any controlment) unto a Priest who had said Masse in the Court (which was permitted by the Law.) Neither was shee able to repressse the tumultuous persons, though shee applied all her minde about the good of the Common-wealth, by granting a generall pardon, increasing the fees or wages of the Judges, by making wholsome Lawes, as making *Adulterie* to be death,

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and sitting her selfe in judgement, thereby to make by Law the highest equall with the lowest.

Anno 1564.

IN this yeare *Queene Elizabeth* created *Robert Dudley* Master of her Horse, a man in high favour with her, whom she had in her secret purpose appointed husband for the *Queene of Scotland*, that he might be more worthy of that match; *Baron of Denbigh*, giving unto him *Denbigh*, with the demesnes, and the next day Earle of *Leicester*; to him and his heires males lawfully begotten: For whose sake also shee had before created his elder brother *Ambrose* *Baron Lisle*, and Earle of *Warwicke*; and to his heires males lawfully begotten, and to *Robert* his brother, and to his heires males of his body lawfully begotten. *Dudley* advanced to these honours, to purchase favour and grace with the

the *Queen of Scotland*, unto whom he made suit in marriage, studied with all kinde of offices to deserve well of her, and forthwith accused *Bacon* keeper of the great Seale, unto the *Queene*, that he had dealt in the matter of succession against the *Queene of Scotland*, and that he was privie and accessary unto a Pamphlet made by one *Hales*, who endeavoured to prove the right of the Crowne of *England*, to belong unto the familie of *Suffolke*, if the *Queene* died without Heire: for the which he had beene put in Prison; but *Bacon* (though he denied the same) was with much adoe, and after a long time restored unto the *Queenes* favour by *Cecill*, who kept his owne judgement in this point secret to himselfe, and alwaies determined so to doe, unlesse the *Queene* (as he would say) commanded him to speake his minde, for she could not endure of all things to have the right of succession called into question and

dispute : but the wiser and the richer men, were troubled with nothing more, whilst in the controversie of Religion the hot Protestants thought the *Q. of Scotland* was to be put by, and rejected, because shee was of another Religion, though her right was undoubted (out of some querks & words of their Law bookes.) Some of the Romanists, and most that regarded equitie and justice, thought shee was to be received, as the true and certaine Heire by the Law. And many preferred *Margaret*, Aunt to the *Queene of Scotland*, the wife of *Matthew Stewart Earle of Lennox*, and her children, as those of whom they hoped the best, as borne in *England*. These things were not unknowne unto the *Q. of Scotland*; who to prevent it as much as shee could, by the advice of the Countesse of *Lennox* her Aunt, sent for *Matthew Earle of Lennox*, to come into *Scotland*, under pretence to restore him into his ancient

ent Patrimonie, but indeed to aske him counsell in these affaires, who by his wives meanes, obtained leave, and also Letters of commendations from *Queene Elizabeth*, after he had beene banished from his native Country now full twentie yeares.

He (for I will for more perspicuitie and light to the matter, rehearse the same somewhat higher) was borne of the same stocke of the *Stewarts*, as the royall familie of the *Scots* was: For *Mary* daughter unto *James* the second, King of *Scotland*, bore unto *James Hamilton*, *James* the first of this stocke, Earle of *Arran*, and *Marie* his daughter, wife unto *Matthew Stewart* Earle of *Lennox*, the first of this Christian name. *James* Earle of *Arran*, his first wife being divorced, and yet living, married *Jenet Beton*, Aunt to Cardinall *Beton*, by whom he had *James D.* of *Chasteauleroy*, whom his adversaries hereupon accounted a Bastard.

Marie sister to the Earle of *Arran*,
 bore unto *Matthew*, *John* Earle of
Lennox, who being slaine by the
Hamiltons, at such time as he would
 have restored *James* the fourth to
 his libertie, left this second *Mat-*
thew Stewart (of whom we speake)
 Earle of *Lennox*, most deare to
James the fift, in regard of his fa-
 ther. But *Matthew* (the King be-
 ing dead, and the *Hamiltons* having
 all the government in their pow-
 er) departed secretly into *France*,
 from whence he was sent by *Henry*
 the second, the French King, to see
 that the Common-wealth of *Scot-*
land tooke no harme by *Hamilton*
 the Regent; and herein he beha-
 ved himselfe worthily: but being
 a plaine and honest minded man,
 (and entangled by the craft and
 policie of Cardinall *Beaton*, and *Ha-*
milton,) he fell out of the favour of
 the French King in a short time:
 And when he could neither tarrie
 at home, nor returne into *France*,
 he came into *England* and submit-
 ted

ted himsele to King Henry the eighth, who accepted him as a man well beloved in the West borders, and acknowledged him as next heire to the Crowne of *Scotland*, after MARIE then an infant, (though the *Hamiltons* confiscated all his possessions, as of a Traytor condemned) and married him unto the Lady *Margaret Douglas* his Niece, by his eldest sister, giving him lands in *England*, worth yearly of the old rent 1700. Marks, he promising for his part, to deliver into the hands of the King of *England*, the Castles of *Dunbriston*, the Ile of *Burba*, and the Castle of *Rothsay*, which peeces being courageously and valiantly attempted, could not yet be gotten.

This man, the *Queene of Scotland* (a woman prudent and circumspect, and who applied all her studies upon the hopes of *England*) sent for to come into *Scotland* (as I have said) pardoned his banishment, restored him unto his

ancient possessions, as well that she might oppose him against the attempts of *James* the Bastard, as also to put other folkes out of hope of the succession of *England*, by his sonne, *Henry Dary*. For if that young man borne of the royall bloud in *England*, and well beloved of the *Englisk* Nation, should marrie with some of the great families of *England*, shee secretly to her selfe feared, that he bolstered up with the power of *England*, might be a blocke in her way, in the right of her succession in *England*, since he was accounted in most mens opinion, the second heire of the Crowne of *England* after her: and there was nothing shee more wished, than that the Realmes of *England* and *Scotland* might divolve by her meanes unto some of the *Scottish* race, and by him might be propagated unto posteritie, in the ancient surname of the *Stewarts*.

This came to the knowledge of
Queene

Queene Elizabeth, and to prevent her purpose, shee declared unto her by *Randolph*, that that marriage was so universally disallowed by the *English* men, that shee adjourned the Parliament against the will of her Councell untill another time, lest the Estates, moved unto wrath for this cause, should make some act against her right in succession: which lest it should afterward come to passe, shee willed her not to doe so, but to give satisfaction unto the *English* men, by thinking upon some other match. And now againe shee commended *Leicester*, (whom shee had advanced unto the degree of an Earle, and especially for that cause) with more earnestnesse, to be her husband.

Upon this occasion at *Barnwicke*, in the moneth of November, there talked together about the marriage with *Leicester*, the Earle of *Bedford* and *Randolph*, and for her were *Murray* and *Lidington* Commis-

ners. The *English* men promised firme amitie, perpetuall peace, and certaine hope of the succession, if shee would marrie with *Leicester*, for upon this condition, *Queene Elizabeth* had promised to declare her daughter adoptive, or sister by authoritie of Parliament. The *Scots* stood hard to it, that it was not for the dignitie of a *Queene* desired for wife by *Charles* the son of the Emperour *Ferdinand*, the King of *France*, the Prince of *Condy*, and the Duke of *Ferrara*, to abase her selfe unto the marriage of a new-made Earle, and a subject of *England*, upon a hope onely, and no dowrie being offered, saying also it was neither honourable unto the *Queene* of *England*, to commend so meane a husband to so great a Princeesse, her next kinswoman; but that this should be a most certaine argument of love, if shee would permit her at her owne choice to elect her selfe a husband, who shall keepe peace with *England*.

land, and withall assigne a good annuitie unto her, and confirme the right of succession by the authoritie of Parliament. In all this businesse *Queene Elizabeth* earnestly desired, that the succession of both the Kingdomes might be established in the *English* Nation, though shee was slow in the same. The *Queene of Scotland* (when the matter had hung thus in talke for the space of two yeares) now determined to take *Darby* unto her husband, did suspect that *Queene Elizabeth* did not deale sincerely with her, but that shee did propound this marriage for no other end and purpose, but that shee might make the first choice of the best suiter or wooer for her selfe, or else might marrie with better excuse unto *Leicester*. But the *Scottish* Delegates looking also for their owne purposes, determined by one way or other to thrust some obstacle or other in any marriage, that they might retaine still their
autho-

authoritie with the Queene. Queene *Elizabeth* had willed the Commissioners to hinder the marriage with *Darby*; and *Leicester* himselfe, accounting himselfe most sure of Queene *Elizabeth*, willed *Bedford* secretly by his Letters, not to urge the matter much. And upon this hope it is thought he favoured *Darby* in secret.

Anno 1565.

IN the meane time, *Darby* got leave with much adoe to goe into *Scotland*, and to stay there three moneths, by the earnest and humble suit his mother made unto Queene *Elizabeth*, under the colour, that he might be present at the restoring of his father: and so he came unto *Edenburgh*, in the moneth of Februarie. He was a young man, of personage most worthy of an Empire, of a comely stature, of a most milde nature, and
sweet

sweet behaviour. As soone as the *Queene of Scotland* saw him, shee fell in love with him, and to cover her love shee talked now and then with *Randolph* the *English* Embassador in *Scotland*, about the marriage with *Leicester*, and at the same time sent to *Rome*, for a dispensation, because *Darby* and shee were so neare of kinne, that a dispensation was necessary by the Canon Lawes. But when these things came to light, shee sent *Lidington* unto *Queene Elizabeth*, that shee might marrie with *Darby* by her consent, and not be kept any longer unmarried upon vaine expectations. *Queene Elizabeth* propounded the matter to her privie Councell, who out of the secret suggestions of *Murrey*, easily beleevved, that the purpose of the *Queene of Scotland* tended by this marriage to strengthen, and againe to claime the title, and her right unto the Realme of *England*, and withall to deduce it unto the *Romane Religion* againe,

gaine, and that many would incline unto them, upon the certaintie of their succession comming of this marriage, and others out of the love unto the Romane Religion, and forasmuch as they understood, that most of the Justices of Peace were addicted unto it. To prevent these things, they thought it most necessarie, first to win the Queenes good will, to marry speedily some husband, that out of the certaintie of succession by her and her issue, and from none other, the affaires and hopes of *English* men might depend, for they feared that if the Queene of *Scotland* married first, and had issue, the most of the people would incline and bend toward her side, because of the certaintie of the succession and securitie. Secondly, that the profession of the Romane Religion should be infringed, or weakened, as much as might be: and that of the reformed, diligently advanced and established; this by dealing more

moderately with some hot spirited Protestants about things indifferent; and the other, by calling in the deprived Bishops unto their prisons (for they had beene dispersed into the Countries in the time of the great plague) by giving unto the Bishops more ample authoritie, to exercise the Ecclesiasticall Lawes against that terrifying bugge of the Premunire, (which the Lawyers objected against them) by suppressing bookes comming from the Low-countries into *England*, set out by *Harding*, and the Divines that were fled over the Seas, by remooving away certaine *Scottish* Priests that lurked in *England*; by depriving the *English* fugitives of their Ecclesiasticall livings, which they enjoyed untill this time; by compelling the Judges of the land, who for the most part were Papists, to take the oath of Supremacie. But to disturbe the marriage with *Darby*, it was thought best to put them in feare,

feare, by mustering Souldiers upon the borders toward *Scotland*, and by putting a greater Garrison into *Barwicke*: that the Countesse of *Lennox* mother to *Darby*, and *Charles* her sonne should be committed unto Prison: the Earle of *Lennox*, and *Darby* his sonne, should be recalled out of *Scotland*, upon paine to forfeit all their goods, before that any league could be made by them with the Kings of *France*, or *Spaine*: that the Scots enemies to the marriage, should be maintained, and *Catharine Gray*, with the Earle of *Hertfort*, should be received into some favour, of whom as of her competitor in the succession of the Kingdome, shee seemed somewhat to bee afraid. And this was all that they could devise to hinder the marriage.

Hereupon *Nicholas Throgmorton* is sent unto the Queene of *Scotland*; who should advise her to deliberate long on that which was to be done but once, that repentance
 alwayes

always followed hastie marriage, and to commend instantly the marriage with *Leicester*, and that the marriage with her Aunts sonne was contrary unto the Canon law: for *Queene Elizabeth* very much desired, that by her, some of the *English* Nation might succeed in both the Realmes: although some men there were, that thought it would be the best for Religion, and both the Realmes, if shee died without issue. Shee answered, the matter could not be recalled, and that *Queen Elizabeth* had no cause to be angry, when according to her counsell, shee had chosen not a stranger but an *English* man, and one borne of the royall bloud of both the Kingdomes, and the noblest man of birth of all *Brittaine*. *Lidington* lying in *England*, did often propose the marriage of the *Queene of Scotland* unto *Leicester* colourably, and also to the D. of *Norfolke*, as to one more worthy of a *Princesses* marriage, who at that time

time put off the same with a modest refusall.

The *Queene of England*, to interpose some impediment unto this hastened marriage, called back *Lennox* and *Darby*, as her subjects, according to the times expressed in their Licence. The father excused himselfe most modestly in his Letters: the sonne desired that she would not be against his preferment, and insinuated, that it may be that he may be profitable to his deare Countrie of *England*: and openly professed himselfe a lover and honourer of the *Queene of Scotland* above all others, who to give correspondencie to his love, first made him Knight, and afterward Lord *Ardmanoch*, Earle of *Rosse*, and Duke of *Rothsay*, and the fift moneth after his comming into *Scotland*, tooke him to her husband, with the consent of the most of the Noblemen, and proclaimed him King. *Murray*, who applied all his wit to his owne private ambition

bition (and under the goodly pretence of Religion) had drawne in the Duke of *Chasteauleroy*, an honest minded man, unto his side, fretting, & others raising tumults, and arguing these questions:

Whether a Papist was to be received to be their King?

Whether the Queene of Scotland might choose her selfe a husband at her owne election?

Whether the Noblemen of the Land, might not by their authoritie appoint her a husband?

The *Queene of England*, who knew the milde nature of *Darby*, and the plaine and honest minde of the father, taking compassion of the young man her Cousin, and of the *Queene* a young woman also, who had to deale with most turbulent persons, who being above this twentie yeares loosed from the government of Kings, could not now endure any Kings, tooke it more quietly.

Neither

Neither had shee any feare of them, when she saw the power of the *Queene* her aduersarie not increased by that meane match, and had the mother of *Darby* in her hand : and foresaw, that troubles would arise hereupon in *Scotland*, which began incontinently : for many Noblemen of *Scotland*, as *Hamilton* and *Murrey*, chafing and fretting at the marriage, this man for that the marriage was made without the consent of the *Queene* of *England*, the other upon a spight or privie malice against the familie of *Lennox*, but both of them under the pretext of the conservation of Religion, displayed their banners in manner of warre, to disturbe the marriage, so that the *Queene* was of necessitie enforced to levie forces, that the marriage might be celebrated with securitie: and then shee did so fiercely pursue the rebels, by the helpe of the King her husband, that shee made them flie into *England*, before the bands of
English

English men, promised to them, could come; but the *Queene* of *England* did covertly grant a lurking place vnto *Murrey*, who was wholly addicted unto the *English*, and secretly maintained him with money by *Bedford*, untill he returned into *Scotland*, which was the day after the murder of *David Rizzius*. The causes which *Queene Elizabeth* alleaged, why shee admitted *Murrey*, and the *Scottish* rebels into *England*, were, for that the *Queene* of *Scotland* had received *Taxley*, *Standen*, and *Welsh*, *English* fugitives, into *Scotland*, and received *O-Neale*, a great man of *Ireland*, into her protection, had intelligence with the *Pope* against *England*, and had not done justice on the theeves on the borders, and on *Pirates*.

Queene Elizabeth not forgetfull of the *Scottish* affaires, a moneth or two after the marriage, sent *Tamworth*, a Gentleman of her privie Chamber, unto the *Queene* of *Scotland*,

land, to warne her not to violate the peace, and to expostulate with her, for her hastie marriage with the native subject of England, without her consent, and withall, to request that *Lennox* and *Darby* might be sent backe into England, according to the league, and that *Murrey* might be received againe into favour. Shee smelling his arrand, admitted him not to her presence, but in Articles delivered in writing, promised in the word of a Prince, that neither she nor her husband would attempt any thing to wrong the Queene of England, or her children lawfully begotten; or the quiet of the Realme, either by receiving fugitives, or by making league with strangers, or by any other meanes; yea, most willingly that they would make such league with the Queene and Realme of England, which might be profitable and honourable for both the Realmes, neither that they would innovate any thing in the Religion, Lawes, and liberties of England, if at any time they should possesse
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the Kingdome of England; yet upon this condition, that Queene Elizabeth would fully performe this thing on her part toward her and her husband: viz. by Parliament establishe the succession of the Crowne of England in her person, and her lawfull issue, and if that failed, in Margaret Countesse of Lennox, her husbands mother, and her children lawfully begotten. As for the other things, shee answered: That shee had acquainted the Queene with her marriage with Darly (as soone as shee was fully determined to marrie him) and had received no answer from her: That shee had satisfied the Queenes demands, for as much as shee had not married a stranger, but an English man borne, who was the noblest in birth, and most worthiest of her in all Britaine that shee knew: But it seemed strange, that shee might not keepe with her Darly, whom shee had married, or not keepe Lennox in Scotland, who was a Native Earle of Scotland. As for Murrey, whom shee had tryed to be her mortall enemye, shee

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in faire words besought her to leave her subjects unto her owne discretion, since that shee did not intermeddle in the causes of the subjects of England. With this answer *Tamworth* returned not respected (as he thought) according to his estate and place (for to say the truth, the malapert fellow had touched the reputation and credit of the Queene of Scotland, with I know not what slander, and had not vouchsafed to give her husband the title of King.)

Anno 1566.

IN June the Queene of Scotland in a happie houre, and to the perpetuall felicitie of Britaine, was delivered of her sonne *JAMES* (who is now the Monarch of Britaine) which shee signified forthwith unto Queene *Elizabeth* by *James Meluin*. Who although she was grieved at the heart, that the honour

honour to be a mother was borne away before her by her adversarie, yet she sent *Henry Killigrew* incontinently to congratulate with her for her safe deliverance, and the birth of a sonne: And to will her not to favour any more *Shane O-Neale*, then rebelling in *Ireland*, nor to entertaine *Christopher Rokeby* fled out of *England*, and to punish certaine theeves vpon the borders.

Shortly after the estates of the Realme in the Parliament holden at *London*, moved the *Queenē* earnestly to marry, and to set downe and nominate her successor: but she by no meanes could be drawne to it. Yet that it might appeare to the world, whom shee thought most rightfull successor, shee cast into prison *Thornton* the Reader of the Law, at *Lincolnes Inne* in *London*, at that time, of whom the *Queenē of Scotland* had complained, that he in his reading had called into question, & made a doubt

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of

of the right of her succession.

The time being come for the baptizing of the Prince of Scotland, the Queene of England being requested to be God-mother, sent the Earle of Bedford with a Font of massie gold for a gift, and commanded expressely, that neither he nor any English men that accompanied him, should vouchsafe to call *Darly* by the name of King.

That Ceremonie being finished, the Earle of Bedford dealt with the Queene of Scotland about other things contained in his commission: that is to wit, That the domesticall contentions betweene her and her husband might be compounded (for some malicious sworne enemies to them both, had craftily broken asunder that most pleasant societie of life and love betweene them) and the treatie of *Edenburgh* ratified. This last thing she utterly denied, alleaging, that in the treatie was much matter that might impeach and derogate from
her

her owne and her childrens right unto the Crowne of *England*. Yet shee promised to send Commissioners into *England*, who should talke about the confirmation thereof, changing some words, namely, that shee should forbear to use the title and armes of *England*, whilest *Queene Elizabeth* lived, and her children: As though it were meant in the treatie, that shee should forbear to use them for ever. And also should declare unto her, how injuriously shee was used by their villanous devices, that abused the simplicitie and credulitie of her husband, more than was to be suffered. And now shee being sickly and weake, in her letters commended her yong sonne unto the fidelitie and protection of *Queene Elizabeth*: in which letters (*though she knew, I use the words of the letters, that she is the undoubted rightfull heire of England, after Queene Elizabeth; and that many imagine and devise sundry things against that right*)

shee promised that shee would not urge any more any declaration of her right, but that shee will helpe, a list, and cleave unto her alwayes with all her power, against all persons.

Anno 1567.

BUt before those Commis-
sioners came from the Queene of
Scotland, and a moneth or two after
the Prince was Christened; the
King her husband in the one and
twentieth yeare of his age, in the
dead time of the night, by a hate-
full and abominable villanie (which
all good men do detest) was strang-
led in his bed, and cast into a gar-
den, and the house blowne up with
Gun-powder. A rumour forthwith
was divulged in all *Britaine*, and
the fault laid upon *Morton*, *Mur-
rey*, and their confederates. And
they insulting upon the weaknesse
of

of her sex, laid it from themselves upon the *Queene*. What *George Buchanan* hath written hereof, as well in his *Historie*, as in a Pamphlet called the *Detection*, is known to all men by those printed bookes. But since hee, carried away with partiall affection, & with the gifts of *Murphy*, wrote in that manner, those bookes were condemned of falshood, by the Estates of the Realme of *Scotland*, unto whom more credit is to be given: And he himselfe lamented & bewailed unto the King (whose Schoole-master he was) reproving himselfe oftentimes (as I have heard) that he had written so spightfully against the well-deserving *Queene*: And at his death, wished that he might have lived so long, untill he might wipe out with a recantation, or with his blood, the spots & stains he had falsly laid on her. But that (as he said) would be to no purpose, since he should seeme to doat for old age. Let it be law-

full for me (that the other part may also be heard) in few words to lay open all the matter as much as I can understand without any hate or love, as well out of the writings of other men which were set forth at that time, but suppressed in favour of *Murrey*, and upon hatred unto the *Queene Captive in England*, as also out of the Letters of Embassadors, and of men of good credit.

In the yeare of our Lord one thousand five hundred fiftie and eight, at the marriage of *Francis the Dolphin*, and of *MARY Queene of Scotland*, *James the Queenes Bastard-brother*, commonly called the *Prior of Saint Andrewes*, disdainning that religious appellation, sued for a more honourable title: which when shee, by the advice of the *Guises* her Vncles, would not grant, he returned into *Scotland* much offended, and began to make broiles under a goodly pretence of the reformation of Religion,

ligion, and assuring the libertie of *Scotland*; and effected it so farre, that Religion was changed in an assembly of the *Cōfederates*, without the *Queenes* privitie: And the *French* men were removed out of *Scotland* by the helpe of the *English* men they had brought in: *Francis* the King of *France* being deceased, he coasted into *France*, unto his sister, and laying from himselfe whatsoever had beene done in *Scotland* against her profit or credit, calling God to witness, solemnly promised to doe all the kind offices which a sister could expect at the hands of a brother. And conceiving also a hope, that she being bred up from her tender yeares in the delights of *France*, would not returne into *Scotland*, dealt with the *Guises*, that some one of the *Scottish* Nobility might be named Regent of *Scotland*, and as with his finger, shewed himselfe as the fittest man. But when he was sent backe into *Scotland*, with

no other authoritie, but onely with Letters Patents, wherein the Queene gave authoritie to assemble the Nobilitie, and to advise and conferre about the good of the Common-wealth; he being dejected and frustrate of his hope, returning thorow *England*, in a rage and fury put into their heads, that if they desired or had a care of the preservation of Religion in *Scotland*, the tranquillitie of *England*, and securitie of Queene Elizabeth, they should hinder the returne of the Queene of *Scotland* into *Scotland*, by one meanes or other. Yet shee arrived safe in *Scotland*, passing by the *English* Fleet in a thicke mist, and using her brother with all courtesie, commended the government of all the affaires into his hands.

Yet these things did not cut off the branches of his ambition, which daily sprang out, both in words and deeds: For neither could he containe himselfe, but that

that oftentimes amongst his friends he would lament, that the warlike *Scottish Nation*, no lesse than that of the *English men*, was subjected to the government of a woman, and out of the doctrine of *Knox* (whom he accounted as a Patriarke) hee would often discourse that Kingdomes were due unto vertue, not unto kindred : That women were to be excluded from the succession of Kingdomes ; and that their Rule was monstrous. He dealt also with the *Queene* by his friends, that she would substitute some out of the familie of the *Stewarts*, who if she died without issue, should succeed one after another in the Kingdom ; and not to have any regard whether they were legitimate or illegitimate, hoping that he should be one of them, being a Kings sonne, although illegitimate. But the *Queene*, when she put of her wisdom weighed, that such a substitution was a thing contrary to

the Lawes of the Land, and would be a wrong unto the right heires, a most pernicious example, and perillous also for the substitutes themselves, yea and a barre unto her to keepe her from marriage againe. She answered mildly, that she would take deliberation in the matter, and consult with the Estates of the Realme about it. And to shew her selfe courteous and bountifull to her brother, shee created him Earle of *Marre*, and afterward Earle of *Murrey* (because *Marre* was in controverfie) and advanced him to an honourable marriage: All this shee did, being all this while ignorant that he affected the Kingdome, (bragging that he was the lawfull sonne of *James* the first.) And to make the way thereunto, he through the favour wherein he stood with the Queene, oppressed the most noble familie of the *Gordons*, who had very many vassals, tenants and retainers, whom he feared much,
both

both in respect of himselfe, and of their Religion: And banished from the Court the Duke of *Chastellero* (who was accounted the next heire to the Crowne) imprisoned the Earle of *Arran* his sonne, banished *Bothwell* into *England*, and put all them that he thought might crosse him, out of office: And he as a Guardian kept the *Queene* as his Ward, and at his command; being most carefull and diligent to keepe her from marriage.

And as soone as he understood, that on the one side the Emperour sued to her for his brother, and the King of *Spaine* for his sonne; he dissuaded her utterly from them both: because (forsooth) the libertie of *Scotland* would not, nor could not endure a forraigne Prince. And whensoever that government descended unto women, that they married no other husbands, but of the *Scottish* Nation: But afterwards, when all the *Scots* generally wished to see her married,

ed, and hee found out that the Countesse of *Lennox* had so providently wrought, that shee inclined to marrie *Darby*; he also commended him as a good husband for her, hoping the young man, being of a soft nature, would be ruled by him in all things. Yet when he saw the *Queene* to love *Darby* exceedingly, and he himselfe to grow out of her favour, he repented him of his counsell he had given, and willed *Queene Elizabeth* to hinder her marriage by one meanes or other.

The marriage being made up, and *Darby* proclaimed King, when the *Queene* revoked the donations made to him and others, against the Lawes in her minoritie; he with other, put himselfe in armes against the King; alleaging, that the new King was an enemy unto the Religion of the Protestants; and that he was married without the consent of the *Queene of England*. But he fled into *Eng-*
land

land (as I have already said) never adventuring to fight: And being frustrate of all hope of helpe from thence, he dealt by Letters with *Mourton*, a profound subill man, who was as his other selfe, that since the marriage could not be dissolved, yet that the love betwene the parties might be broken by some secret devices: and a fit occasion offered it selfe; for she upon the arising of some private discontent, to keepe under the swelling minde of the young man, and to conserve her royall authoritie whole to her selfe, had begun to set her husbands name last in the Proclamations and Records, and to omit it utterly in the coine.

Mourton being a cunning man to breed discontents, with his flattering words crept into the Kings good liking and opinion, and then perswaded him to take upon him the Crowne of the Realme, yea, in despite of the *Queene*, and to make himselfe free from the government

vernment of women; for that it is the condition of women, said he, to obey, and of men to rule. By this counsell, if it were taken, he hoped not onely to draw away the love of the Queene, but of all the Nobilitie and Commons also from the King, to estrange the Queene, and with divers slanders first hea-tened the King to murder *David Rixius a Piedmonntoys*, lest that politike fellow should prevent their purposes (this man was a Musitian by profession, and came the last yeare with *Moret* the Embassador of *Savoy*; and by the Queene for his wit and dexteritie received into her household and favour, and preferred to write her *French Letters*, and unto her privie Councell in the absence of the Secretarie.) Then to estrange her love the more, he perswaded the King to be present at the murder, with *Rutben* and the rest, who rushing together with him into the *Queenes dining Parlour*, at supper time (shee sit-
ting

ting at the Table with the Countesse of *Argile* assaulted the fellow with their naked swords, as he tasted meat taken from the *Queenes* Table, at the Cupbord (as the servants of the privie Chamber use to doe) before her face, being great with childe, trembling with feare, setting a Pistoll at her breast ; so that shee was in danger of abortion, and dragged him into the utter Chamber, where they most cruelly killed him, and shut up the *Queene* into a Parlour : *Mourton* all this while guarding all the passages.

This murther was committed the evening before the day appointed unto *Murrey* to appeare for his triall in the assembly of the *Estates* for his rebellion, who came in on the next day, when no body expected him, and no man appeared against him in that troublesome time : So that it may seeme that the murder of *David* was hastened of set purpose to procure the securitie and safetie of *Murrey*. Yet the
Queene

Queene at the earnest suit of the
 King, received him courteously,
 and continued in brotherly love
 towards him. But the King when
 he considered the enormitie of the
 offence (& feeling now the Queene
 to be very angry) repented his rash-
 nesse, and in humble manner sub-
 mitted himselfe unto her clemen-
 cie, weeping and lamenting, and
 asking pardon, did ingenuously
 confesse, that he committed that
 hainous offence by the instigation
 of *Murrey* and *Moniton*: and from
 thenceforth did so hate *Murrey*,
 (for *Moniton*, *Rabbin*, and others,
 were fled into *England* upon the
 murder, with the commendatorie
 Letters of *Murrey* unto *Bedford*)
 that he devised to kill him. But
 when out of wrath and rashnesse,
 he could not conceale his purpose,
 nor (such was his respect unto the
 Queene his wife) durst execute it,
 he told her how profitable it would
 be for the Common-wealth, and
 also for the security of the royall
 familie,

familie, if *Murrey* were rid out of the way. Shee detesting the thing, terrified him even with threats, from such enterprises, putting him in hope of reconciliation. Yet he when he saw, to his hearts griefe, the Bastard to be of such power with the *Queene*, out of his impatience he plotted the same matter with others; which when it came to the eares of *Murrey*, to prevent him, under colour of dutie, he laith closer shares for the yong man, using *Adonison* (though absent) for his Counsellor.

They thought it requisite above all things, utterly to avert the *Queenes* minde from the King; and by flatterie to induce *Bothwell*, lately reconciled unto *Adonison*, and in great favour with the *Queene*, into their societie, shewing him a hope to be divorced from his wife, and to marrie with the *Queene*, as soone as shee was widow. And for the performance of these things, and also to defend him against all persons,

persons, they bound themselves under their hands and seales, being perswaded, if the matter hit right, that they might by one labour kill the King, utterly discredit the Queene amongst the Nobilitie and Commons, undoe *Bothwell* utterly, and bring the government of all the affaires unto their hands.

Bothwell being a lewd minded man, blinded with ambition, and therefore venturous to attempt, quickly laid hold on the hope offered unto him, & villanously committed the murther. But *Murrey* had secretly gone home a prettie way off, fiftene houres before, that he might no way be suspected; and that hee might from thence give ayd unto the Conspirators, when any need was, and all the suspicion might light upon the Queene. As soone as he returned unto the Court, both he and the Conspirators commended unto her *Bothwell*, as most worthy of her love,

love, for the Nobilitie of his familie, his valour shewed against the *English*, and his approved fidelitie. They put in her head, that shee being alone and solitarie, was not able to repress the tumults that were raised, prevent secret plots, and uphold the burthen and heauie weight of the Kingdome. Therefore shee might doe well to take as a Companion of her bed, counsell, and danger, the man that could, would, and durst oppose himselfe against all trouble. And they drave and enforced her so far, that the fearefull woman, daunted with two tragicall murthers, and remembring the fidelitie and constancie of *Bothwell* towards her and her mother, and having no other friend unto whom to resort, but unto her brothers fidelitie, gave her consent: Yet upon these conditions, that above all this, provision might be made for the safetie of her little sonne; and then, that *Bothwell* as well might be cleered from

from the murther of the King, as also from the bond of his former marriage.

What George Earle of Huntley, and the Earle of Argile, men of great Nobilitie in Scotland, did forthwith protest of this matter, I thinke good to set downe in this place, out of the originall, with theist own hands, sent unto Queen Elizabeth, which I have seene. Forasmuch as Murrey and others, do cloake their rebellion against the Queene (whose authoritie they usurpe) and stand her openly in print and conferting unto her husband's death. We doe publickely protest & sweare these things. In the Month of December, in the year of our Lord God one thousand five hundred fiftie and six, when the Queene lay at Cragmyller, Murrey and Lidington did acknowledge before us, That Mourton, Lyndsey, and Ruthen killed David Rizio, for no other end, but to procure the safetie of Murrey, who was to be attainted at the same time. Therefore lest they should be

unthankfull, they wished that Mourton and the rest, banished for the death of David, might be brought home againe: And this they insinuated could not be done, except the *Queene* were separated by a divorce from the King, which they promised to effect, if wee would grant our consents. And afterwards Murrey promised unto mee George Earle of Huntley, the restitution of my ancient Patrimonie, and perpetuall favour of the banished men, if I would favour the divorce. Then they went unto Bothwell, that hee should consent thereunto. Lastly, wee came unto the *Queene*, and Lidington in all our names besought her exceedingly to remit the sentence of exile against Mourton, Lyndsey and Ruthen: He exaggerated the faults and crimes of the King with bitter words; and shewed, that it was much for the good and benefit of the *Queen* and the Commonwealth, that a divorce were speedily sued out: forasmuch as the King and shee could not live together with securitie in Scotland. Shee answered,
shee

shee had rather depart into France, and
 live privately for a time, untill her hus-
 band acknowledged his faults: for shee
 would have nothing to be done that
 should be wrong to her sonne, or disho-
 nour unto her selfe. Hereunto Liding-
 ton replied, saying: Wee that are of
 your Councell will provide for that.
 But I command you (said shee) not to
 doe any thing which may be a blemish
 to my honour, or a staine to my consci-
 ence. Let things be as they be, untill
 God above doe remedie it: That which
 you thinke may be good for mee, may
 prove evill. Unto whom Lidington
 said, Commit the matter unto us, and
 you shall see nothing done but that which
 is good, and that which shall be allowed
 in the Parliament. Hereupon, since
 that within a few dayes after, the King
 was most shamefully murthered; Wee
 out of the inward testimonie of our con-
 science, are most assured, that Murrey
 and Lidington were the authors and
 perswaders of this murder of the King,
 whosoever were the actors of the same.
 Thus much of Huntley and Argile.

Now

Now the Conspirators applied all their skill that *Bothwell* might be cleared of killing the King: Therefore without delay, the Parliament is summoned for no other cause, and Proclamations are set out to apprehend the persons suspected for murdering the King. And when *Lennox*, father to the murdered King, accused and charged *Bothwell* as the Regicide, and was very importunate that *Bothwell* might be brought to triall before the Parliament began: This also was granted; and *Lennox* commanded to come in with his accusation within twentie dayes. On which day, when he heard nothing from the *Queene of England*, and could not be present in the Citie full of his enemies, without danger of his life; *Bothwell* was brought to the Barre, and arraigned, and acquitted by the sentence of the Judges; *Mourton* also upholding and maintaining his cause, and openly taking his part.

This

This businesse being finished, the Conspirators wrought so, that the most of the Nobilitie gave their consent unto the marriage, under their hands and seales, lest he (frustrated of the promised marriage) should appeach them as contrivers of the murder. But of this marriage of the Queene with *Bothwell* (who was created Duke of the *Orkenies*) the suspicion increased with all men, that the Queene was cōsenting to the Kings death: which the Conspirators increased by Letters sent into all places, and in their secret meetings at *Duneldry* they conspired forthwith to kill *Bothwell*, and deprive the Queene: Yet *Murrey*, that he might be thought cleare of this conspiracie, obtained leave of the Queene (but hardly) to travell into *France*. And that he might put all diffidence out of her head, he commended all his affaires and estate in *Scotland*, unto the fidelitie of the Queene and *Bothwell*. Hee was scarce

scarce gone out of *England*, but behold the same men which had cleared and acquitted *Bothwell* from the murder, and consented unto the marriage under their hands and seales, tooke up Armes against *Bothwell*, as meaning to apprehend him: And indeed they secretly willed him to save himselfe by flight, for no other intent, but that hee should not be taken, and discover all their plot, and withall, that they might lay hold of his flight, as an argument or reason to accuse the *Queene* of killing the King. But shee being taken, they used her most contumeliously, and in most unseemely fashion, and putting on her an old cloake, thrust her into prison at *Locheleven*, under the custodie of the mother of *Murrey*, who had beene the Concubine of *James* the first, who most malapertly insulted over the calamity of the imprisoned *Queene*, boasting that shee her selfe was the lawfull wife of *James* the first, and that her

sonne *Murrey* was his lawfull issue.
 As soone as *Queene Elizabeth*
 understood these things, in her
 minde detesting this barbarous in-
 solencie of Subjects (whom shee
 called oftentimes Traytors, Re-
 bels, unthankfull and cruell fel-
 lowes) against a Princessse, her si-
 ster, and neighbour; Shee sent *Ni-
 cholas Throgmorton* into *Scotland*,
 to expostulate with the Conspir-
 ators for this insolency used against
 their *Queene*, and to take some
 course how to restore her into her
 former libertie, and for the severe
 punishment of the murderers of
 the King; and that the young King
 might be sent into *England*, that
 order might be taken for his secu-
 ritic, and not sent into *France*. And
 what I shall hereafter declare (du-
 ring his abode in *Scotland*) take yee
 upon the credit of this Letters,
 which is approved.

He found the most part in *Scot-
 land* incensed against the *Queene*,
 who in plaine termes denied ac-
 cesse

cesse unto her, both to him, and also to *Villeroy* and *Crocus* the *French* Embassadors. Yet could not the Conspirators agree among themselves what to doe with her : *Lidington* and a few others would have her to be restored upon these conditions : That the murderers of the King should be punished according to Law ; The Princes safetie provided for ; *Bothwell* divorced, and Religion established. Others would have her to be banished for ever into *France*, or into *England* : So as the King of *France* or *Queene* of *England*, did give their words, that she should resigne the Kingdome, and transference all her authoritie unto her sonne and certaine Noble men. Others were of opinion, that shee should be arraigned publikely, and condemned unto perpetuall prison, and her sonne crowned King : Lastly, others would have her deprived both of her life and Kingdome, by a publike execution. And this ~~was~~

and some Ministers of the Word, thundered out of their Pulpits.

On the other side, *Throgmorton* out of the holy Scriptures brought many places to prove, that obedience was to be yeelded unto the higher powers, that carry the sword: And wittily argued, that the *Queene* was not subject to the judgement of any, but only of the celestiall Judge: That shee could not be arraigned or brought to triall before any Judge on the earth: And that there is no Magistrate had any authority in Scotland, which is not derived from the authority of the *Queene*, and revocable at her pleasure. They opposed the peculiar Law of the Kingdome, among the *Scots*, and that in extraordinarie causes, extraordinarie courses were to be used: receiving their reasons from *Buchanan*, who at that time by the perswasion of *Murray*, wrote that damned and hatefull Dialogue, *De jure Regni apud Scotos*: wherein is maintained, that the people have authoritie to create and depriue

Kings,

Kings, against the truth of the *Scottish* Histories. Yet ceased not *Throgmorton* to make many earnest motions for the restitution of the *Queene*, and for accessse unto her; though *Lidington* had answered him oftentimes, that his accessse could not be granted, since it was denied unto the *French*: That they must not displease the *French*, to please the *Queene of England*, whom they had tried, did but serve her owne turne, since for her owne good shee hoped to expulse the *French* out of *Scotland*; and very lately shewed so little favour, and was so niggardly to the *Scottish* men exiled for the killing of *David Rixins*. Moreover, he was to beware, lest the *Scots* out of his importunitie should neglect the *English* men, & incline unto the friendship of the *French*, and secretly advised him with the *French* Proverb, *Il perd le j'en, qui laisse la partie*: That the *English* men should not abandon the *Scots* their friends.

Then in a long writing, which they delivered to *Throgmorton*, without any subscription, they protested, that they shut up the Queene into that solitarie place, for no other intent, but that they might keep her asunder from *Bothwell*, whom shee loved unmeasurably, to worke their confusion, untill that wilfull love towards him, and her womanly teene towards them was asswaged; and bade him rest content with this answer, untill the rest of the Noblemen met. Yet every day they curbed her more of her libertie, though shee with abundance of teares, and most humble requests, begged of them to deale more mildly with her; if not as the Queene, yet as with a Kings daughter, and mother to the Prince, whom shee made humble suit that she might see oftentimes, but in vaine. But that I may not insist upon particular injuries, at last they spake her faire, and willed her to give over her government, taking

king either her sicknesse, or the troubles in government, for an excuse ; or, as other more subtilly willed her, that the resignation being made, she being then kept more negligently or carelessly, might make an escape. When these tricks proved not, they threatned openly to arraigne her of incontinency of life, of killing the King, and tyrannie; namely, that shee had violated the Lawes and right of the Land, to wit, those which *Randam* and *D'Ojse*ll had confirmed in the King of *France* and her name. At length, terrifying her with death, they compelled her to put her hand unto their Letters Patents, which she never saw nor heard read ; in the beginning whereof, shee resigned her Realme to her sonne some thirteene moneths old : In the second branch thereof, shee appointed *Murrey* Regent, during the minority of her sonne : In the third, if *Murrey* refused the charge, shee named these new governours of her

sonne; *James Duke of Chastellero, Matthew Earle of Lennox, Gilbert Earle of Argyle, John Earle of Arbol, James Earle of Mourtoun, Alexander Earle of Glencarne, and John Earle of Marre.* And without delay shee signified by *Throgmorton*, unto the Queene of England, that shee had resigned by Co-action, and had subscribed to the Cession or Resignation against her will, by the counsell and advice of *Throgmorton*, who had perswaded her, that the Cession extorted in the prison (which is a just feare) was undoubtedly void and of no validitie. But of these things you shall heare more the next yeare, out of the accusations and defences of both the parties, before the Commissioners at *Yorke*.

On the fifth day after the resignation, *James the Queenes young sonne* was annointed and crowned King, *John Knox* making the Sermon: The *Hamiltons* putting in a protestation, that it should be no pre-

prejudice unto the Duke of *Chastellero* in the right of succession against the familie of *Lemox*. But *Queene Elizabeth* forbade *Throgmorton* to be present thereat, that shee might not be thought to allow the unjust abdication of the *Queene*, by the presence of her Embassador.

On the twentieth day after the resignation, *Murrey* himselfe returned out of *France*; and the third day after, he with many of the Conspirators came unto the *Queene*, against whom he laid many heinous crimes, and perswaded her to turne unto *G O D* by true repentance, and to aske mercie of him. Shee shewed her selfe sorrowfull for the sinnes of her former life, shee confessed some things he objected, others shee extenuated, others she excused by humane frailtie, and the most matters shee utterly denied. Shee required him to take upon him the government of the affaires for her sonne, and

required him earnestly to spare her life, and her reputation. He said, it lay not in his power, but it was to be sought for of the States of the Realme; yet if shee desired to have her life and honour saved, he prescribed these things for her to keepe: That shee should not trouble nor disturbe the tranquillitie of the Realme; That shee should not steale out of prison, nor move the Queene of *England*, or the King of *France*, to vex *Scotland* with forraigne or civill warre; That shee should not love *Bothwell* any more, or devise to take revenge on the enemies of *Bothwell*.

The Regent being proclaimed, bound himselfe by his hand and seale, to doe nothing concerning peace or warre, the person of the King, or his marriage, or the libertie of the Queene, without the consent of the Conspirators. Hee willed *Throgmorton* by *Lidington*, not to intreat any more for the Queene; for that he and the rest had

had rather endure all things, than that shee being freed, should keepe *Bothwell* companie, bring her sonne into danger, her Countrie into trouble, and also proscribe them. We know (said he) what you *English* men can doe by warre: You may waste our borders, and we may yours; and we know assuredly, that the *French* men in regard of our ancient league, will not abandon and forsake us. He denied also *Ligneroll* the *French* Embassador, to have accessse unto the *Queene*, untill *Bothwell* was taken; and every day hee used the distressed *Queene* worse and worse, whereas shee had deserved well at his hands, and contrary to his promise he had made unto the King of *France*. Thus much out of the Letters of *Throgmorton*.

Shortly after, *Murray* put to death *John Hepburne*, *Paris* a *French* man, *Daglish*, and the other servants of *Bothwell*, who had beene present at the Kings death: But they (which *Murray* little expected) at the *Gal-*
lowes

lowes protested before God and the Angels, that they understood by *Bothwell*, that *Murrey* and *Mourton* were the authors of killing the King, and cleared the Queene from all suspicion; as *Bothwell* himselfe prisoner in *Denmarke* all his life time, and at his death, did with many solemne oaths and religious protestations, affirme, that the Queene was not privie nor consenting to it. And fourteene yeares after, when *Mourton* was to suffer death, he confessed, that *Bothwell* dealt with him to consent unto the murder of the King, which when hee utterly denied, except the Queene did command it under her hand; To that *Bothwell* did answer, that could not be done, but that the deed must be done without her knowledge.

This rash, precipitate and overhasty abdication or deprivation of the Queene, and the overthwart stubbornnesse of the Conspirators towards the Embassadors, both
Queene

Queene *Elizabeth* and the *French* King tooke very hainouſly, as a thing tending to the reproach of royall Maieſtie, and began to favour the *Hamiltons*, who ſtood for the Queene. *Pasquier* alſo Embaſſador from the *French* King, dealt with the Queene of *England*, that ſhee might be reſtored by force of armes; but ſhee thought it the better way to forbid the *Scots* all trafficke in *France* and *England*, untill ſhee was delivered; and ſo by that meanes the common people might be diſ-joyned from the Noblemen, who (as it ſeemed) were united in the conſpiracy againſt the Queene.

Anno 1568.

IN *Scotland* the captive Queene upon the ſecond day of May, eſcaped out of priſon in *Lochevin*, by the meanes of *George Douglas*, whoſe brother had the cuſtodie of her,

her, unto the Castle of *Hamilton*; where, hearing the testimonie of *Robert Meluin* and others, a *sentence Declaratory* was made by the whole consent of all the Noblemen which were there met, being very many: That the Resignation extorted by feare from the *Queene*, was void from the beginning; and that the same was extorted, is confirmed by the oath of the *Queene* there present. Hereupon such a multitude came unto her from all places in a day or two, as shee had an armie of six thousand valiant men, which yet *Murree* easily put to flight, because they were so fierce, & would not be ordered in the fight. The fearefull *Queene*, terrified with this unfortunate successe, betooke her selfe unto flight, riding that day threescore miles, and afterwards, by journies in the night, came unto the house of *Maxwell*, Lord *Herris*; and was more willing to commit her selfe unto the protection of *Queene Elizabeth*, than

than to trust her owne Subjects. Yet she sent before one *John Beton*, unto her (with a Diamond, which she had before received of her, as a token betweene them of benevolence) who should signifie unto her, that shee would come into *England*, and aske ayd of her, if her Subjects pursued her any farther by warre: unto whom *Queene Elizabeth* promised very largely all love and sisterly kindnesse. But before the messenger returned, shee went into a little Barke (her friends much disswading her) with the Lords, *Herris* and *Fleming*, and few others, and landed the seventeenth day of May at *Worlington* in *Cumberland*, neere unto the mouth of the River *Derwent* ; and the same day wrote Letters in the *French* tongue, with her owne hand, unto *Queene Elizabeth*: Of the which the chiefe heads (since they doe comprize a longer Historicall narration of the things done against her in *Scotland*, than I have declared)

red) I thinke good to set downe out of the originall, which is in this manner.

You are not ignorant (my best sister) how many of my Subjects, whom I have advanced unto great honour, have conspired to oppresse and imprison mee, and my husband ; and how at your intercession I received the same men into favour, whom I had expelled out of my Kingdome by force of armes. But yet these men brake into my Chamber, and cruelly killed my servant, I being great with child, bebolding it, and shut me up in prison. When I had againe forgiven them, behold, they laid upon me a new crime, which themselves had wrought, and signed with their owne hands ; and shortly after were entranked in battell against me in the field : but I trusting in mine innocencie, to avoid the shedding of bloud, put my selfe into their hands ; forthwith they thrust me into prison, sent away all my servants, but one or two maids, a Cooke, and a Physitian, enforced me by threats and feare of death, to resigne my Kingdome, and

and in the assembly of the Estates called by their own authoritie, denied to heare me and my Agents, spoiled me of all my goods, and kept me from the speech of all men. Afterwards, by Gods helpe, I escaped out of prison, and accompanied with the flower of the Nobles, who came joyfully unto me, from all parts, I admonished mine enemies of their dutie and allegiance; I offered them pardon, and proposed that both parts might be heard in the assembly of the Estates, that the Common-wealth might not any longer be torne in sunder by these intestine mischiefes. I sent two messengers about this matter, they cost them both into prison; they proclaimed them that assisted mee Traitors, and commanded them forthwith to leave me. I requested that the Lord Boyd might talke with them under a safe conduct, about a composition; but they also denied the same utterly. Yet I hoped they might have beene recalled to acknowledge their dutie by your intercession. But when I saw I was to undergoe either death or imprisonment, I intended

to have gone unto Dunbritton ; but they met mee in armes upon the way, and put my friends unto flight. I gat me unto the Lord Herris, with whom I am come into your Kingdome, upon a certaine hope of your approved benevolence, that you will helpe me friendly, and by your example excite others to doe the same. Therefore I earnestly request you, that I may be brought unto you speedily, for I am now in great distresse, which I will tell you more at large, when it shall please you to have compassion on mee. God grant you long and happie life, unto me patience and comfort, which I hope and pray I may obtaine of him by your meanes.

Queene Elizabeth in her Letters by Francis Knowles, & others, comforted her, and promised to protect her according to the equitie of her cause, but denied her to come to her presence, for that by report shee was charged with many crimes, and commanded that she should be conveyed unto Carlile, as unto a safer place (if her enemies

attempted any thing against her) by *Lowder* Lieutenant of the place, and the power of the Gentlemen of the Countrey. Shee having received this answer, and the access denied, both by her Letters, and also by *Maxwell* Lord *Herris*, shee earnestly besought her, That shee might as well shew the injuries received by her, as also cleare her selfe of the crimes objected against her in her presence: That it was most just that *Queene Elizabeth* her nearest kinswoman of blood should heare her in her presence, being banished; and also restore her unto her Kingdome, against those whom being banished for their villainies committed, shee had restored unto their estates, at the intercession of *Queene Elizabeth*, and that to her owne destruction, except it were speedily averted. Therefore shee humbly requested, that either shee might be admitted to her speech, and holpen, or that shee might speedily be permitted with her leave and favour to depart out of England, to crave helpe from some other

ther place, and not to be detained any longer like a prisoner in the Castle of Carlile; forasmuch as shee came voluntarily into England, trusting on her love, oftentimes promised by Letters, Messengers, and tokens.

Through these Letters, and the words of *Herris*, *Queene Elizabeth* seemed (for who can reach into the secret cogitations of Princes? and wise people conceale to themselves their owne purposes) from her heart to have compassion of this Princeesse her kinswoman, being in very great distresse; who was taken by her Subjects by force, thrust into prison, brought into danger of her life, condemned, and yet never heard speake in her owne defence (which is never denied to a private man) and had fled into *England* unto her upon an assured hope of helpe and reliefe. Moreover, she was much moved, that the distressed *Queene* had voluntarily offered, to have her cause argued and disputed of before her, and had
taken

taken upon her to prove her adversaries guiltie of all the crimes whereof they had accused her, who was innocent.

Whether the pittie of *Queene Elizabeth* was unfained or not, is not knowne: But certaine it is, the Councillors of *England* did enter into a mature deliberation, what should be done with her: If shee should be kept still in *England*, they feared, that shee which had an alluring eloquence, would daily draw to her part many more to fauour the right shee pretended unto the Crowne of *England*, who would kindle her ambition, and leave nothing unattempted to purchase the Kingdome for her; That forraigne Embassadors would helpe and assist her purposes; and that then the *Scots* would not faile her, when they saw such a faire prey. Moreover, the fidelitie of keepers was uncertaine, and if shee should die in *England* by sicknesse, it would give occasion of slander,
and

and the Queene should be vexed and turmoiled every day with new molestations. If shee should be sent into *France*, they feared, lest her Consens the *Guises* would againe pursue the right and claime shee made unto *England*, upon a conceit and opinion that shee could doe much in *England* with some for Religions sake, with others by the probabilitie of the right, whereof I speake; and with many upon a mad desire of innovation. Besides that, the friendship betweene *Scotland* and *England*, which is very profitable, might be broken, and the ancient league between *France* and *Scotland* renewed, which might be more dangerous than in former times, when *Burgundy* was tyed unto *England* in a stricter league than at this present; *England* having now no assured friends but the *Scots*. If shee should be sent backe into *Scotland*, they feared lest the *English* faction should be put out of authoritie, the *French* faction raised

to the government of affaires, the young Prince exposed unto danger, the Religion in *Scotland* changed, the *French* and other forrainers brought in, *Ireland* more vexed and annoyed by the *Irish Scots*, and she her selfe brought into danger of her life by her adversaries at home. Hereupon most of them thought best to detaine her as a lawfull prize, and not to be let goe, untill shee had satisfied for the challenging the title of *England*, and answered for the death of *Darby* her husband, who was a native Subject of *England*; for the mother of *Darby* the Countesse of *Lennox*, long since, blubbered with teares, in her owne name, and her husbands also, had made a grievous complaint against her, and had besought *Queene Elizabeth* that shee might be arraigned for the death of her sonne: but shee comforting her with courteous words, willed her not to lay such a crime upon so great a *Princesse* her nearest *Cousen*, which
could

could not be proved by any certaine evidence: That the times were malicious, and unjust spight blinde, which doth ly crimes upon innocent persons, but that Justice which is the punisher of offenders was open eyed, and sitten by God.

On the other side, the Lord Heris humbly besought the Queene, not to beleve rashly any thing against the truth, against the Queene unheard; and that in Scotland Murray should not precipitate the Parliament, to the prejudice of the expelled Queene, and to the destruction of good Subjects. Which though shee urged exceedingly, yet Murray in the Kings name, held the Parliament, attainted many that stood for the Queene, spoiled and destroyed their houses and possessions. Hereupon the Queene of England being moved with indignation, signified by *Middlemore* unto the Regent in bitter words; That shee could not endure, that by a most pernicious example un-

to Kings, the sacred authoritie of royall Majestie should be contemned by Subjects, and trodden under foot at the pleasure of factions people. And howsoever they had forgotten the dutie and allegiance of Subjects toward their Princeesse, yet shee could not forget any dutie or office of good will and pietie towards her sister and neighbour Queene. Therefore it was best for him then to come himselve, or else to give Commission unto fit and apt men for this businesse, who should make answer unto the complaints of the *Queene of Scotland*, against him and his complices, and also yeeld just reasons for their deprivation of her; if he did not, that shee would set her at libertie forthwith, and restore her to her Kingdome, with all the power shee could make. And withall, willed him not to sell away the *Queenes* apparell and precious ornaments, though the Estates had permitted the same.

Murrey did as thee willed him, since he had depended upon no other place, but onely upon *England*, for this course of his fickle government, and the Noblemen of the Realme refused to be sent on that message. To *Yorke* therefore (the place appointed for the meeting) came he himselfe and seven of his dearest and most familiar friends, as Commissioners for the King infant, namely, *James Earle of Mourton*, *Adam Bishop of Orkney*, *Robert Commendator of Dunfermellin*, *Patricke Lord Lindsey*, *James Mungill*, *Henry Balnaw*: and *Lidington* (whom *Murrey* with faire promises enticed to come with him, fearing to leave him at home) & *George Buchanan*, one that would swear it if *Murrey* spake it, accompanied them. The same very day came thither *Thomas Howard* Duke of *Norfolke*, *Thomas Ratcliff*, Earle of *Sussex*, a little before made President of the North, and Sir *Ralph Sadleir* Knight, one of the privie

privie Councell, appointed Commissioners, to heare the cause of the deprivation, for the *Queene of Scotland*, (who tooke it most unkindly that *Queene ELIZABETH* would not heare her to speake, and yet commanded her Subjects to be heard against her, before Commissioners; forasmuch as shee being an absolute Prince, could not be bound to answer but at pleasure, unto her Subjects accusing her.) There appeared *John Leslie* Bishop of *Rosse*, *William Lord Livingston*, *Robert Lord Boyde*, *Gavin* Commendator of *Kilwinning*, *John Gordon*, and *James Cocburne*, for her.

When they were met on the seventh day of October, and shewed each one to the other their Letters Patents of their Commission; *Lidington* standing up, and turning to the *Scots*, with a wonderfull bold speech admonished them: *For as much as it should seeme by the Commission granted to the English men, that the Queene of England had no other*

purpose, but that they should defame, disgrace, and discredit the reputation and good name of their *Queene* mother to their King; and that s^{he}e as an *umpire* and *Iudge* should give sentence; that they should consider with themselves discreetly, what hate and danger they might draw upon themselves by accusing her of crimes, and bringing her in danger and losse of reputation in this *juridicall* and *publike* forme, before *English* men, the professed enemies of the *Scottish* Nation, not onely with the *Scots* that loved the *Queene*, but also with other *Christian* Princes, and her *Cousins* in *France*: and what reason they could yeeld for this insolent accusation (not without the wrong of the *Scottish* Kingdome) unto the King, when hee being riper in yeares, shall thinke this action a reproach and dishonour to himselfe, his mother, and his *Countrie* also. Therefore be thought it most fit to leave off the odious accusation of so great a *Princesse*, except the *Queene* of *England* shall make a mutual league offensive and defensive against

gainst all persons that shall trouble them for this matter. And thus the Secretary of Scotland advised them in the way of friendship. They looking one on another, said not one word.

The Commissioners of the Queen of Scotland (for the first place of honour was given unto them) before they tooke the oath, protested although the *Queene* of Scotland was content that the causes betweene her and her rebellious Subjects should be argued in the presence of the *English* men, yet that she did not therefore acknowledge her selfe to be subject to any, or under the rule of any, being as she is, a free Prince, and vassall and holding of none. The *English* men protested likewise, that they by no meanes admitted that protestation, to the wrong of that right which the Kings of *England* of long time have challenged and claimed as the superiour Lords of the Kingdome of Scotland.

On the next day, the Commis-

sioners of the Queene of Scotland
 by writing declare, How James
 Earle of Mourton, John Earle of
 Marre, Alexander Earle of Glen-
 carne, Hume, Lindsey, Ruthen,
 Sempill, &c. had levied an armie, in
 the Queenes name, against the Queen,
 taken her, used her vilely, and thrust her
 into prison in Lochlevin, had forcibly
 broken into her minting house, taken a-
 way the minting irons, and prints; all
 the gold and silver coined and uncoi-
 ned, and had crowned her sonne (be-
 ing an infant) King; whose authori-
 tie James Earle of Murrey, under the
 name of Regent, had usurped, and had
 taken into his hands all the muniments,
 riches and revenues of the Kingdome.
 And then they shew, how shee as soone
 as shee was escaped out of prison, after
 eleven moneths, had publickely declared,
 and taken her oath, that whatsoever she
 had done in prison, had beeie extorted
 from her (unwilling thereto) by force,
 threats, and feare of death; but yet for
 the conservation of the publike tranquil-
 litie, that shee gave authoritie to the
 Earles

Earles of Argile, Eglenton, Cassile, and Rothsay, to make a composition with ker adversaries, who yet set upon her with their men of warre, as shee intended to travell to Dunbritton by unknowne wayes, killed very many of ber faithfull subjects, lead others away prisoners, and banished others for no other cause, but for that they had done faithfull service unto their lawfull Princeesse. That shee enforced by these their vile and lewd iniuries, retired and withdrew ber selfe into England, to require helpe, which Queene Elizabeth had oftentimes promised her, that shee might be restored unto ber Countrie and former estate.

After a few daies, *Murrey the Regent and the Commissioners for the King Infant (so they called themselves) make answer : That (Henry Darly the Kings father, being murdered) James Hepborne, Earle of Bothwell (who was accounted to be the murderer) obtained such favour of the Queene, that he tooke ber being not unwilling, in the shew of violence,*

lence, and carried her to Dunbar, and
 tooke her to his wife (having put away
 his former wife :) That the Noblemen
 moved thereat, thought it their dutie to
 punish Bothwell the contriver of the
 murder (for as much as that murder
 was in every place laid upon many No-
 blemen Conspirators) to restore the
 Queene unto her libertie, to unloose her
 from her unlawfull marriage, and to
 make provision for the young Kings
 safetie, and the tranquillitie of the
 Realme. And when the matter was
 now ready almost to come unto a bloodie
 fight ; That the Queene sent Both-
 well away, thundered out threats a-
 gainst the Noblemen, breathed revenge.
 So that it was of necessitie to keepe her
 in their custodie, untill punishment
 might be taken of Bothwell, if he could
 be found. And that shee, wearied with
 the trouble of government, voluntarily
 resigned her Kingdome, and transfer-
 red the same unto her sonne, appointing
 Murrey to be Regent. Upon this her
 sonne was with the due rites annointed
 and crowned King ; and that all these
 things

things were approved and confirmed by the Estates in the Parliament. And that the Scottish Common-wealth by the just administration of justice re-flourished, untill certaine persons envying the publike quietnesse, subtilly gat the Queene out of prison, and violating their fidelitie toward the King, tooke armes, of whom, though the King (by the favour of God) gat the victorie, yet they beare still the minde to worke and threaten all the hostilitie they may. And therefore it is very necessarie that the Kings authoritie may be conserved and establisshed against such turbulent subjects.

To these things the Commissioners of the Queene answer in their Replication (having first repeated their former protestation,) and say ; Whereas Murrey and the Conspirators doe say, that they tooke armes against the Queene, because Bothwell, whom they charge with killing the King, was in great favour with the Queene, they cannot with that glasse cleare themselves from the marks of trait-

terous subjects; since it was not certaine to the Queene, that he killed the King. Yea contrariwise, that he was acquitted, by the judgement of his Peeres, of the murder; and that verdict was confirmed by the authority of Parliament, with the consent also of them who now accuse him; and at that time perswaded the Queene to marrie him, as a man more worthy to beare rule, than any other; and gave unto him their word under their hands. Neither did they disapprove the marriage, so much as in word, untill they had by faire words enticed the Captaine of the Castle of Edenburgh, and the Provost of the Towne unto their side: For then late in the night, assaulted they the Castle of Borthwiske (where the Queene lay) and when shee, by the darknesse of the night, escaped forthwith they levied an armie under the pretence to defend the Queene, and met her going towards Edenburgh, with Banners displayed, ready to fight; and by Grange, whom they sent before, they willed her to send away Bothwell from

from her companie, untill he should be brought to tryall: which shee to avoid the effusion of blood, willingly did. But Grange secretly willed Bothwell to depart away, and gave his word that none should pursue him: so that he whom they might easily have taken then, departed with their good leave. But now having taken the Queene, they passed not upon him, that they might advance their ambitious purposes and designs. And whereas they charge her to have used them with rough & rigorous words; it is no wonder, since they being her subjects, having sworn their allegiance unto her, had used her more rudely and vilely than becommeth any to use the Majeſtie of a Prince. And when shee most willingly referred the cause unto all the Estates of the Realme, and signified so much by Lidington the Secretarie, they would not so much as heare the motion, but by night conveyed her secretly unto Lochleven, and put her in prison. In that they say shee voluntarily made a resignation of the Kingdome, for that shee was wearied with molestations

tions in the government, is altogether untrue; for as much as shee was not outworne or decayed by age, nor weak by sickness, but both in minde and body able to discharge the most weightie matters of Estate. But this is most certaine, that the Earle of Athold, Tullibardin and Lidington (who were also of their counsell) did will her to subscribe unto the Letters Patents of the resignation, that she might avoid death, assuredly intended, and that this would be no wrong nor bayre to the prisoner, or her heires; for as much as prison is a just feare, and a promise made by a prisoner (by the opinion of the Lawyers) is of no force, and utterly void. And that Nicholas Throgmorton did perswade her to the same, by a schedule written with his owne hand, whom shee also requested to signifie unto the Queene of England, that she had subscribed by coaction, and against her will. Moreover, that Lindsey when shee brought the Letters Patents of the Resignation to be subscribed, threatened her with death, and drove her by force to subscribe unto

unto it, which shee never read, the teares
 running downe from her eyes. And that
 the Lord of the Castle of Lochlevyn re-
 fused to subsigne it as a witnesse, because
 he saw and knew for certaine, that shee
 subscribed against her will. Also that
 resignation and renunciation is most
 unjust, in which nothing is assigned un-
 to her, whereon shee may live, nor liber-
 tie granted, nor securitie of life promi-
 sed. So that to men of indifferencie such
 like unjust resignation cannot seeme to
 prejudice her royall Majestie; which as
 soone as shee was free at libertie, openly
 declared, shee did it by compulsion, ma-
 king a Declaratorie thereof before many
 Noblemen of the Realme. Neither ought
 those things which they brag they did by
 the authoritie of Parliament, be any pre-
 judice unto the *Queene*; for where in
 the Parliaments of Scotland about an
 hundred Earles, Bishops, and Barons
 have their voices, in this tumultuarie
 Parliament, there were present no more
 but foure Earles, one Bishop onely, one
 or two Abbots, and six Barons; and of
 that small number, some did put in a
 pro-

protestation, that nothing should be done to the wrong of the *Queene*, or her successors, because shee was a captive. Neither were the *Embassadors* of England nor France admitted to know of her, whether shee resigned her Kingdome voluntarily, although they made earnest suits sundry times. And that it is so untrue, that the usurping Regent hath justly administred the *Common-wealth*, it is most apparant, that impietie did never reigne more, and with lesse controlment, in throwing downe Churches, ruinating worshipfull Families, and afflicting the miserable *Commonaltie*. Therefore they request earnestly, that the *Queene* of England would speedily helpe the *Queene* her Cousin, most unjustly and vilely oppressed, with her favour, advice, helpe, and assistance. Thus much out of the originall copies of the *Commissioners*, written with their owne hands, which I have seene.

When the *English Commissioners* had heard these things, they required that *Murrey* should produce

duce and prove more sound causes of this great severitie used against an absolute *Queene* : Forasmuch as whatsoever had beene hitherto shewed, was not strenthened with witnesse, but with Letters of small credit, and *Lindington* had insinuated that he had oftentimes counterfeited the *Queenes* hand. He refused to accuse his sister any further before strangers, except the *Queene of England* did repromise to undertake the protection of the Infant King, and utterly to relinquish the *Queene of Scotland*. When they by the authoritie of their Commission could not promise it, one or two of either part are sent for unto *London*; unto whom *Queene Elizabeth* declared : That shee could not yet cleere the Subjects from fault against their Princeesse; yet that shee would intreat her for them, and heare if they had any thing else to say for their excuse. *Murrey* who followed them, in plaine termes refused to
accuse

accuse his sister, but upon the condition he had spoken of at *Yorke*. Then were the Commissioners called backe, and put out of Commission, the Duke being glad at his heart, who had alwayes favoured the *Queene of Scotlands* right in the matter of succession, & thought that all this doing was nothing, but to brand her with the marke of eternall infamie, and thereupon to exclude her as an unworthy person with her little sonne, of all her right of succession in *England*. And he thought he had thereby escaped two perils; for he feared, if he had pronounced against her, he should doe against his conscience, and undoe her for ever; and if he spake for her, lest he should incurre the implacable indignation of the *Queene*, and the hate of all them that loved her not for *Religious* sake.

But whereas at that time the affaires of *Scotland* were much troubled by the friends of the expelled *Queene*,

Queene, and the presence of *Murray* was needfull there ; he began his accusation before the Queene, *Bacon* Keeper of the great Seale, the Duke of *Norfolke*, the Earles of *Arundell*, *Sussex*, and *Leicester*, *Climton*, Lord Admirall, *William Cecill*, and *Ralph Sadleir* Commissioners appointed by new Letters Patents; and produced Articles standing upon conjectures, the testimonies of some men, and the decrees made in the Parliament, but especially certaine amatory Epistles and Verses written (as he said) with the *Queenes* hand, to prove her privie to the death of her husband, and *Buchanans* booke (called the *Detection*) he gave them to reade, which was of small credit with the greater part of the Commissioners, because he was one of that side, and wonne by money to write. But as for the Epistles and Verses (which wanted names, subscriptions, and notation of the time ; since that, there be every where many

ny forgers which can so cunningly imitate and counterfeit other mens hands, that hardly the true can be knowne from the false) *Queene Elizabeth* gave small credit, though there was womanly privie hatred (which carrieth away that sex farre from the right) betweene them, and shee was well content that some blot of reproach by this accusation was left, and remained on the *Queene of Scotland*.

But when her Commissioners heard that shee was contumeliously accused by *Murrey*, they were most ready to answer; but shee (being secretly instructed by many *English* Lawyers, that it was lawfull so to doe; for as much as the former authoritie and Commission given to the *Duke* and others was abrogated) had already taken away their Commission: and shee in plaine termes, refused the new *English* Commissioners; of whom one or two shee thought to wish her no good, but rather ill; except the
French

French and Spanisb Embassadours might be added unto them, and she her selfe might be publikely admitted to defend her innocencie before the *Queene*, and *Murrey* detained & brought to tryall, whom shee affirmed might be proved to be the contriver of the murder of *Darby*. Which things, when *Norfolke*, *Arundell*, *Sussex*, *Leicester*, and *Clinton*, thought not to be unjust; *Queene Elizabeth* somewhat angry, said openly, that the *Scottish* woman should never want an Advocate, as long as *Norfolke* lived; and thought it enough to impart the crimes objected by *Murrey*, unto every one of the privie Councell, and also unto the Earles of *Northumbreland*, *Westmerland*, *Shrewsburie*, *Worcester*, *Huntington* and *Warwicke*, called together with an oath of secrecie, lest they should prejudice either partie. And when *Murrey* was called home, and *Boyde* (as it was commonly reported) plotted to steale away the *Queene of Scotland*

Scotland out of prison, the matter was put off unto another time; *Queene Elizabeth* from her heart hating the insolencie of the *Scots*, in depriving of their *Queene*.

Murrey a little before his departure, had craftily proposed unto *Norfolke*, the marriage with the *Queene of Scotland*, and also secretly by *Meluin* to the *Queene* a hope to be restored into her Kingdome (as we shall declare anon) and at the same time to draw the love of *Queene Elizabeth* from the *Queene of Scotland*, he had spread rumors that shee had transposed her right unto *England* unto the Duke of *Anjou*, and that the transcription was confirmed at *Rome*; and shewed also Letters (whether true or forged I will not say) which the *Queene of Scotland* had written unto her friends, in which shee both charged *Queene Elizabeth* as though shee had not used her according to her promise, and bragged of hope of ayde from some other persons.

This

This put *Queene Elizabeth* in great feare, yet could not shee conjecture from whence this new hope should arise, the civill warre increasing so in *France*, that the Bishop of *Rbedon* was sent unto her by the King, to request her not to intermeddle with the affaires in *France*, and the Duke of *Alba* who was come the last yeare into the *Netherlands* to profligate the Protestants Religion, had very troublesome businesse come upon him.

But, as it came to light afterward, *Robert Ridolphus* a *Florentine*, who had lived long at *London*, as a Merchant Factor, was suborned by Pope *Pius Quintus* (who durst not send a Nuntio openly) to stirre secretly the Papists in *England* against *Queene Elizabeth*, which he did both diligently and secretly. A small suspicion was also growne out of the secret conferences at *Torke*, betweene *Lidington*, the Bishop of *Rosse*, and *Norfolke*, whom they besought to joyne his advice
and

and care to helpe the most distressed Queene, offering unto him also her in marriage, which he, as a thing full of danger, rejected, with a modest answer : yet he promised not to abandon the distressed Queene, in as much as was lawfull for an honourable man to doe, saving his allegiance to his Queene and Country. *Ligon* the servant of *Norfolke*, a great Papist, much increased the suspition, by his often going to *Bolton* (the Lord *Scroopes* Castle) where the Queene of *Scotland* was kept by *Francis Knolls*, under the pretence of visiting *Scroops* wife, who was sister unto *Norfolke*. Although no certaintie was of this, yet for more suretie, the Queene of *Scotland* was conveyed from *Bolton*, where all the bordering neighbours were Papists, farther into the Realme, unto *Tutburie*, and delivered unto the custodie of *George Earle of Shrewsburie*.

Anno

Anno 1569.

NOW *Murrey*, who had made himselfe a secure way to returne into *Scotland*, by the hope made to the *Queene of Scotland* of her restitution, and to *Norfolke*, and to others in *England* (for theee had repressed the *Scots* that lay in wait to kill him, and charged them not to impeach his returne.) As soone as he came unto *Edenburgh*, he called the Noblemen friends to the *Queene*, under the colour to consult with them about her restitution. And when *Hamilton Duke of Chasteaulerov*, appointed Lieutenant by the *Queene*, and *Herris* perswaded by the Letters of the *Queene*, too much credulous, came thither first, *Murrey* fearing some traps, circumvented them; and staying for no moe, put them in prison, and forthwith annoyed & vexed the friends of the *Queene* with fire and sword.

Hereupon

Hereupon were rumours spread
 in all places of *England* against
Murrey, namely, that he had made
 a pact with *Queene Elizabeth* that
 the young King of *Scotland* should
 be delivered unto *Queene Elizabeth*,
 to be brought up in *England*:
 That the Castles of *Edenburgh* and
Sterling should be furnished with
 Garrisons of *English* men: That
Dunbritton should be wonne for the
 benefit of the *English*: That *Mur-*
rey should be proclaimed successor
 unto the Realme of *Scotland*, if the
 King died without issue, & should
 hold the Kingdome of *Queene E-*
lizabeth, by fealtie and homage.
 These reports increased, and with
 a certaine probabilitie did so pos-
 sesse mens mindes thorow all *Brit-*
taine, that *Queene ELIZABETH*
 thought good, for the conserva-
 tion of her owne credit, and for
 the good of *Murrey*, to wipe a-
 way these blots. Therefore in a
 writing printed, shee declared in
 the word of a Prince, that these re-
 ports

ports were most untrue, and devised by them who envied the tranquillitie of both the Kingdomes; and that there had beene no pact either by word or writing betweene her or her Agents and *Murrey*, since he came last into *England*, that shee knew of; but that the Earle of *Lennox* Grandfather of the yong King had requested, that the King if he could not be safe in *Scotland* from the plots of wicked men, might be sent into *England*. Moreover, shee affirmed, that whatsoever is said of the paction betweene *Murrey* and the Earle of *Hertford*, namely, that they would give mutuall helpe the one to the other, to get the Crownes of both the Kingdomes, to be utterly false and untrue. Lastly, that shee was not the cause why the transaction betweene the *Queene of Scotland* and her little sonne was not concluded; and that shee will labour all that shee may, that it may be effected. And indeed shee did her best endeavour, though

shee was tossed on the one side with feare out of the inveterate emulation, which doth never die betweene women Princeesses; and on the other side, with compassion remembering oftentimes the frailtie of mankind.

The Queene of *Scotland* kindled more this compassion, and minished the feare with her often and loving Letters; in which shee solemnly promised, both for the courtesie which shee had found at her hands, and also for the neere bloud of kindred which was betweene them; that shee would attempt nothing against her, and that shee would not be beholding to any other Prince for her restitution, but onely unto her. In so much that *Queen Elizabeth* dealt earnestly with *Murrey*, by *Wood* his Secretarie, & with other *Scots* about the restoring of her unto her former dignitie and estate, and if that could not be granted, then that shee might be joyned with her sonne; and if that could

could not be granted neither, yet that shee might live a private life at home among her friends, freely, securely, and honourably. But shee could not stirre or move *Murrey* (who had all the government in his hand) to yeeld a jot.

About the same time, a still rumor went up and downe amongst men of the better sort, that the Duke of *Norfolke* would marry the *Queene of Scotland*, which was a thing well taken of many, but in sundry manners, according as men wished. For the *Papists* hereby hoped to have some good for their Religion; and others hoped some profit would arise thereby unto the Common-wealth. But many men, who saw the *Queene* was not minded to marrie, and that forreigne Princes, enemies unto *England*, did cast their eyes upon the *Queene of Scotland*, as the most certaine heire of *England*, thought it would be a better way to establish quietnesse, and to containe the *Queene of*

Scotland within bounds ; that shee were married to the Duke of *Norfolke*, the greatest and most honourable man of *England*, and a man in the love of the people, and bred up in the Religion of the Protestants, rather than to a forreigne Prince, who might bring both the Kingdomes into danger by her meanes, and also come so to inherit both the Kingdomes, which they heartily wished might be consolidated in a Prince of the *English* Nation, if the King of *Scotland* should happen to die, whom they also purposed to bring into *England*, that he being the true heire of *England*, being brought up amongst the *English*, might be better loved of the *English* men. And thus all the scruples about the succession might be taken away. **QUEENE ELIZABETH** should have no cause to feare the Duke, and the *Queene of Scotland*; when shee had the King in her hands. Moreover, that the Duke should attempt nothing against him,

him, but love him more dearly ; They determined to espouse *Margaret* the Dukes onely and little daughter unto him, to be married together when they came to riper yeares. Amongst these were the Earles of *Arundell*, *Northumberland*, *Westmerland*, *Sussex*, *Pembrooke*, and *Southampton*, and very many Barons, yea, and *Leicester* himselfe, whether in policie, and to worke the Dukes destruction, it is uncertaine : yet all these thought it good to acquaint the *Queene* with the matter, and to leave the decision thereof to her pleasure, and that shee should prescribe the conditions for the full securitie and safetie of her owne person, Religion and the Realme. But now take the matter briefly if you please, from the verry beginning out of the written Confession of the Duke, which I have seene, and the memorials of the Bishop of *Rosse*, who was the greatest dealer in this businesse.

When the Commissioners met at *Yorke* the last yeare, *Lidington* and the Bishop of *Rosse* to winne his favour, talked with the Duke of a marriage to be made betweene him and the Queene of *Scotland*: and so did *Murrey* himselfe with the Duke at *Hampton Court*, who in private talke with the Duke, and also with many others, fained that he wished nothing more, than that matters in *Scotland* being set in good order, the Queene of *Scotland* his dearest sister, might be restored unto her former dignitie and estate, so that onely shee would sincerely and unfainedly receive into her former favour and grace her subjects, and that all the remembrances of all offences might bee quite forgotten. Yet he feared, if shee married a husband out of her owne choice, from *France*, *Spaine*, or *Austria*, that she would revenge the injuries shee had received, change the Religion received in *Scotland*, and procure great danger unto

unto *England*. To prevent these things, he promised to bestow all his labour, that where shee who had first married a boy, then a rash and heady young man, and lastly to a madbraine (those were his very words) might now be married to the Duke, a man of discretion; which thing might turne unto the tranquillitie of both the Realmes, the securitie of both the Princes, and especially to the establishing of Religion, since he (such was his respect unto the *Queene* of *England*) might more prosperously containe *Scotland* in the amitie of the *English*, and might with the more ease draw the *Queene* of *Scotland* unto the true Religion which hee professed. With these same things *Murrey* also secretly acquainted the *Queene* of *Scotland* by *Robert Melvin*, and offered his labour very officiously, toward the effecting thereof. But the Duke answered, that he could determine nothing about the marriage, be-

fore that shee did cleare her selfe of the crimes objected against her; yet *Rosse* as diligently as he could, ceased not to draw him to it, being unwilling.

A few dayes after, *Nicholas Throgmorton* met the Duke in the Court at *Westminster*, unto whom he professed and offered his service very kindly, and signified that *Leicester* would talke with the Duke, about the marriage between him and the Queene of *Scotland*, which *Throgmorton* said, seemed strange to him, since *Leicester* himselfe lived for the same marriage not long since. But he willed the Duke in friendship, if it were so, that he should give the honour of that marriage unto *Leicester*, who had beene before time a suiter therein. But if he stood stiffly in it, to denie and refuse it, because that the *Scots* did charge her with very many hainous crimes. But yet, said *Throgmorton*, I wish from my heart, that she were married unto you, as well for the good

good of Religion, as also that shee may not depend of any other but on our *Queene*. Yet this I forewarne you, if you doe any thing in this matter, let *Leicester* guide you by advice ; for you of your selfe shall hardly get the *Queenes* consent.

A day or two after, *Leicester* moved the matter to the Duke, who answered just even as *Throgmorton* forewarned him ; and when he came to speake of the crimes, *Leicester* extenuated the same, and called *Richard Candish* to witnesse, whose service (though suspected) hee commended unto the Duke. Then *Leicester* told *Pembroke* of the matter, and the Duke told *Arundell* ; and they together with *Throgmorton* in their Letters commended unto the *Queene of Scotland*, the Duke as a fit husband (which *Murrey* had done also before :) The Duke also wrote and signified his love, and offered his service in very loving words.

From that time he imparted unto them all the Letters he wrote unto her, or received from her; and they talked oftentimes with *Rosse* about the manner of concluding it. And by *Richard Candish* they propounded in the yeare one thousand five hundred threescore and eight, unto the *Queene of Scotland* these Articles written with *Leicesters* hand: viz.

1 That shee attempt nothing to the hurt of the *Queene of England* and her children in the succession of the *Kingdome of England*.

2 Shee should make a league defensive and offensive betweene the two *Realmes*.

3 Shee should establishe the Religion of the *Protestants* in *Scotland*.

4 Shee should receive into her favour the *Scots* which were now her adversaries.

5 Shee should revoke the assignation of the *Kingdome of England* made unto the *Duke of Anjou*.

6 Shee should marrie some *English Noble*.

Nobleman, namely, the Noble Prince Thomas Duke of Norfolk.

If shee gave her consent unto these Articles, they promised to procure the *Queene of England's* assent, and that she should be shortly restored unto her Realme, and also be confirmed in the succession of *England*. Shee readily admitted them all, but onely that shee could say nothing unto the league, before the *French King* was certified thereof. Shee protested that there was no assignation made unto the Duke of *Anjeau*; yet shee would procure him to make a release and renuntiation (if they stood upon it.) And willed them above all things, to get the consent of the *Queene of England*, lest some hurt did come unto her and the Duke for want thereof, which shee had experimented in the marriage with *Dorset* without her consent. Yet they thought best to trie first the mindes of more Noblemen; of whom most gave their consent, with

with this clause, *So that the Queene was not against it.* Neither did the Kings of *France* and *Spaine* dislike it, onely they feared *Murrey*, lest he that had first broached the matter, and promised to further it all that hee could, should first hinder it. Yet they agreed on this, that *Lidington* who was then expected, should be the first to try the minde of *Queene Elizabeth*. In the meane time the Duke imparted to the Lord *Lumley* whatsoever had beene done in this businesse, and with much adoe obtained of *Leicester* to aske the advice of some other friends. Yet a while after, he opened the matter by the consent of *Pembrooke* unto *Cecill* also.

About which time, *Leonard Dares* devised and compassed to steale secretly away the *Queene of Scotland* out of prison at *Whinfield*, where shee was kept by the Earle of *Sherborne*. *Northumberland* being privie unto this device, signified it unto the Duke, who forbade them

them to doe it; for he feared they would have delivered her to bee married unto the King of *Spaine*, and hoped to obtaine the consent of *Queene Elizabeth*, ere it was long.

But the rumor of this marriage came more plainly to the *Queenes* eare, by the Ladies and women of the Court, who smell out cunningly and quickly these love matters. Which when the Duke understood to be true, he dealt very earnestly with *Leicester*, both by *Troglmorton* and by *Pembroke*, to open the matter speedily unto the *Queene*: he made delaies, and linged, as it were, to stay for a fit time to speake. But *Cecil* willed the Duke (who was now full of care) to open all the matter to the *Queene* himselfe, whereby all scruple might be speedily taken away from the *Queene* and from himselfe also. *Leicester* was against it, and promised to open the matter to the *Queene* in the progresse.

But

But in the time that he put it off with sinooth words, from one day unto another, the Queene being at *Farneham*, set the Duke at her Table, and bitinglly willed him to take heed on what Pillow he laid his head. Then at *Titchfield* Leicester was somewhat sicke, or else fained so to be : and unto the Queene that came to see him, and cheared him comfortably, and perceiving his spirit and bloud to be drawne inward for feare, with sighs, and asking pardon of his fault, he opened the whole matter from the beginning.

At which time the Queene called the Duke unto her in a gallery, and chid him very much, that without her privitie he had sued unto the Queene of *Scotland* in the way of marriage; and commanded him upon his allegiance, to cease from further meddling therein. He promised so to doe willingly and gladly, and doubted not to say (as though he cared not a whit for her)

her) that his revenues in *England*, were little lesse than those of the Kingdome of *Scotland*, at this time lamentably impoverished by the warres; and also when he was in his Tennis-court at *Normich*, he seemed to himselfe to be equall, after a sort, unto many Kings. But from that time, he beganne to be more dejected in minde; and when he saw the *Queene* to looke and speake to him more sternly, and *Leicester* in a manner estranged, and most of the Noblemen to steale away out of his companie, scarce saluting or speaking to him, hastened unto *London* without taking any leave, and went in to *Pembroke*, who bade him be of good cheare, and comforted him very much. And on that same very day *Queene ELIZABETH* rejected with shew of displeasure the *Scottish* Ambassador, intreating her very much to deliver the *Queene* captive, and bade that shee should behave her selfe quietly, lest shortly shee

shee saw them on whom she chiefly relied to hop headlesse.

And now when the rumor of the marriage was hotter every day than other, and the *French* Embassador exceedingly urged her deliverie (more by the perswasion of some *English* men, than by the commandement of the *French* King, as it was after knowne :) new suspicions from every place were laid hold on : and *Cecill* who applied all his care for the good of the Republike and Religion, was very diligent to finde the depth of the matter ; and therefore wrote unto *Sussex* Lord President of the North, who was a familiar friend, & neere allied in blood unto the Duke, to certifie the Queene what he knew of the Dukes marriage. But his answer is unknowne unto mee. And where it had beene observed, that the Duke had many secret conferences with *Murrey* Regent of *Scotland* at *Hampton Court* ; *George* Cary sonne to the Lord *Hunsdon* was

was sent secretly unto *Murrey*, to learne of him if the Duke had imparted unto him any thing about this marriage. The Duke in the meane while, terrified with a false rumor spread, that there was a commotion raised in the North, and being certified by *Leicester*, that he should be put in prison, went out of the way into *Norfolke*, whiles his friends in the Court (who had promised so much) might avert and turne aside the storme that hang over his head, and he himselfe might mitigate the *Queenes* displeasure by his humble Letters. But there were men set about him to marke and note all his actions. When hee found no comfort among his friends, and *Heydon*, *Cornwallis*, and other worshipfull Gentlemen of those parts, perswaded him, if he were guiltie of any offence toward the *Queene*, to flie unto her mercie; he wavered, and was tormented with diversitie of cares.

In

In this while was the Court in quandarie, suspicious and fearefull that he would breake out into rebellion; and they say, it was determined to kill the *Queene of Scotland* presently if he did so.

But he, out of his inbred good nature, and out of his conscience, that he had not offended against any Law made treason (for that act of marrying the Kings sisters, or brothers, or aunts children, without the Kings knowledge, made treason by *Henry the eighth*, was repealed by King *Edward the sixth*) and also for feare lest the *Queene of Scotland* out of suspicion should be used more hardly and extremely, he sent Letters unto his friends in the Court, and told them, that he stept aside unto his house, that in time, and by his absence, hee might procure a remedie against malicious rumours, which are at all times entertained with open eares in the Court, and asked pardon most humbly for his offence, and

and forthwith tooke his journey toward the Court.

As he returned, at Saint *Albans*, *Owen* a Gentleman belonging to the Earle of *Arundell*, sent secretly by *Throgmorton* and *Lumley*, who were committed, willed him to take all the fault upon himselfe, and not to lay it upon *Leicester* and others, lest he should make his friends his enemies. There *Edward Fitz-Gerard* brother unto the Earle of *Kildare* (Lieutenant of the *Pensioners*) met and received him, and conveyed him unto *Burnham* three miles from *Windsor* (where the *Queene* then lay.) Foure daies after, the Abbot of *Dunfermeling* delivered the letters of *Murrey*, Regent of *Scotland*, unto the *Queene*; in which he shewed her, that the Duke dealt with him secretly at *Hampton Court*, to favour his marriage with the *Queene of Scotland*; and that if he would not, he threatened him exceedingly, and that he promised to favour it, that hee might

might prevent and avoid the await and ambuscado laid by one Norton to kill him ; from whom & others, the Duke gave his word he should returne without danger. And that shortly after, the Duke requested him by his Letters written in Ciphers, to give his consent unto the marriage. Moreover, that the Duke did signifie unto him by *Boyd*, that he would never forsake and abandon the *Queene of Scotland* ; and further, that the agents of the same *Queene* had almost perswaded the Regent that *Queene Elizabeth* had consented to the marriage ; and also that shee had offered to her the hope of the Kingdome of *England*. And *Queene Elizabeth* also found out, that shee had signified unto certaine Noblemen of *England*, to winne them unto her side, that shee went about that businesse, which would be very necessary for the most certaine securitie of the *Queene of England*, and the like safetie for both the Kingdomes.

The

The Duke, who had secret and warie commerce of Letters (which were sent privily in Ale-bottles) with the Bishop of *Rosse*, *Leicester* and *Tbrogmorton*, was about this time examined about this marriage with the *Queene of Scotland*, and his secret conferences with the Bishop of *Rosse*, and confessed most things, was sent to the Tower of *London*, under the keeping of Sir *Henry Nevill* Knight, being bitterly reproved that he had departed from the Court without leave obtained, and charged as though he had intended to rebell. Two daies after, the Bishop of *Rosse* was examined in like manner, and *Robert Ridolph*, the Gentleman of *Flurence*, whom the Bishop of *Rosse* and others used familiarly, is delivered unto the custodie of *Francis Walsingham*. The Earle of *Pembrooke* is commanded to keepe his house, and is privately examined; yet in regard of his Nobility and old age, he had the favour, that his examination

nation was not set downe in writing. Which thing he required, because he could not write. Some Noblemen were forbidden the Court, as privie to these matters, who humbly confessed that they with the Duke agreed to the marriage, which *Murrey* had first propounded; yet so that the Duke, the *Queene of Scotland*, and they, willed that the matter should be referred unto the *Queene* before the marriage was to be solemnized, and desired pardon for their offence. In like manner the *Earles of Northumberland and Westmerland*, who were of this counsell, submitted themselves unto *Suffex* Lord President of the North, and besought him to make intercession unto the *Queene* for their pardon. Also fundry Pamphlets came out against this marriage, and against the *Queene of Scotland*, and the right by which shee claimed to become heire unto *England*; wherein they shewed their wits with such
point malapert

malapert saucines, that the *Queene* thought once to have forbidden them by severe edict, and permitted the Bishop of *Rosse* (winking thereat) to make answer; who forthwith set forth a booke under the name of *Morgan Philips*, against them, wherein he defended the honour of his *Queene*, her right to succeed, and the government of women (for this also was impugned) but ingenuously acknowledged afterward in his *Commentaries*, that he had his arguments for her right of succession, secretly from *Anthony Browne* chiefe Justice in the common Place, and *Carrell* an excellent good common Lawyer.

Shortly after, befell the rebellion in the North, raised by the Earles of *Northumberland* and *Westmerland*, with many other Gentlemen. Who when they understood for certain, that the *Queene of Scotland* (whom to set at libertie, they had principally taken armes) was carried away from *Tutburie* unto *Cowntrie*,
under

under the keeping of the Earles of *Shrewsburie* and *Huntingdon*; and also moved with the great preparation of the Queene, they with a few others fled into *Scotland*.

Anno 1570.

THe rebellion in *England* being now quenched, *Murrey* Regent of *Scotland* laboured diligently, that the Queene of *Scotland* might be delivered into his hands, and for that cause he both offered hostages, and also to restore unto them the Earles of *Northumberland* & *Westmerland*, and brought to passe, that the Bishop of *Rosse*, as the kindler of the rebellion, was committed unto the custody of the Bishop of *London*. Then to purchase the good will of Queene *Elizabeth*, in the moneth of Januarie he came with an Armie into the borders of *Scotland* towards *England*.

land, to hunt out the *Engliff* rebels, of whom he tooke a few, and those of small account; but at last he found the Earle of *Northumberland* lurking about *Hartlawe*, amongst the thieves on the borders, discovered by his host (one of the *Grayhams*, who betrayed him) and sent him unto *Lochevin* to be kept; and in this journey he annoyed and spoiled the borders exceedingly.

But in the same moneth, after he had taken great paines, & thought himselfe in great securitie, he was shot from out of a privie place, thorow the body a little beneath the navell, with a Bullet, as he rode thorow the streets of *Lithgow*, by one *Hamilton*, who escaped by and by into *France*, and lived certaine yeares after, oftentimes protesting, that he did it to revenge himselfe of a private grudge against him, he not being able to endure patiently the injuries he offered unto him. For *Murrey* had banished the

H fellow,

fellow, for that he had stood for the Queene, and imprisoned him, threatning now and then to hang him, untill he resigned and gave away unto a servant of *Murrey*, a little ground which came to him by his wife; whereupon his wife fell mad, and in a furious rage he brake prison, and committed the murder. Neither could the man after be perswaded in *France* (when he seemed to be a man fit for a desperate action) to attempt the same against the Admirall *Coligni*, oftentimes saying, that he was the revenger of his owne just griefe, for which he was sorry; but he would not bee the revenger of another mans, neither for gold nor request.

Hereupon was there much talke of the Regent that was *Blaine*, thorow all *Britaine*: The most wondering at vaine matters, namely, the dreame of his mother, of the Lyon and the Dragon fighting in her wombe, after that King *James* the

the fifth had had his pleasure on her. Among the wiser sort, according to their partiall affections, commended he was by some, for destroying the Romane Religion in *Scotland*, the conservation of the King a childe, the equall administration of justice, and his munificence and liberalitie toward learned men, and *Buchanan* above the rest. On the other side, he was reproved by others, as though hee tooke Religion for a cloake, and enriched himselfe and his friends with the spoyles of the Church, and how he was not onely injurious, but also ungratefull unto his sister the *Queene*, that deserved well at his hands, and insulted over her womanly weaknesse. And these men out of their suspitions, and the lewd disposition of many bastards, did ghesse and conjecture, as though he would not have spared the sonne, having already deprived the mother of her Crowne. The *Queene of Scotland* her selfe

was very sorry, that he was taken away by that sudden and violent death, before (as shee said) he had purged his sinnes against G O D, his Countrie and Princeesse, by heartie penitencie. But all the *English* men that favoured the Duke of *Norfolke*, accused him (as farre as they durst) for a craftie and false deceiver.

The Noblemen of *Scotland* who stood for the King (not admitting the *Hamiltons* and the rest, who had stood for the deprived *Queene*) being to meet for the election of a new Regent, required the advice of *Queene ELIZABETH*. Shee answered, shee would not meddle in the creation of a Regent, lest shee should seeme to prejudice the *Queene* of *Scotland*, whose cause was not yet decided and judged. But they chose *Matthew Earle of Lenox*, the Kings Grand-father Regent, *Queene Elizabeth* being not discontent with it, for shee knew that he would be very loving unto

unto his young Nephew out of naturall affection, and kinde unto the *English* men, in regard of the benefits he had received at their hands. And shee did not doubt but he would be at her becke, since shee had his wife in her hands.

Whiles *Queene Elizabeth* shewed favour thus unto the Kings side in *Scotland*; the King of *Spaine* did not abandon the *Queene* captive; but by the meanes of *Hamilton* Rector of the Church of *Dunbar*, he sent secretly out of the *Low-Countries*, great store of Armour and Gun-powder, and seven great peeces of Ordnance, and some money unto *Huntley* the Governour of the North part of *Scotland* for the *Queene*. In this while, he, the Duke of *Chasteauleroy*, and the Earle of *Argile*, Lieutenants of the *Queen*, by a common consent, and with the consent also of the *Queene*, sent *George Lord Seton* Embassador unto the Duke of *Alba*, who declared his message unto him in these

words : That he was sent out of a Kingdome deprived of publike peace, and of a worthy Princeſſe, through the trecherie of diſloyall ſubjects, and that the ſubſtance of his Embaſſage conſiſted on theſe points : That ayd may be given unto them, whereby the Queene may be redeemed out of miſerable captiuitie in a forraigne Land, and the Realme delivered from the oppreſſion of ſtrangers : That the Scottiſh rebels might be forbidden to trafficke in the Dominions of the King of Spaine : And that the 10000. Crownes aſſigned by him to the Queene of Scotland might be paid.

The Duke of Alba answered ; That he would be ready and willing to further this her cauſe, upon all occasions, unto the King of Spaine, but that he could not prohibit the trafficke of the Scottiſh rebels (becauſe it was contrarie to the libertie of the Low-Countries) and promiſed that he would diſburſe the money very ſhortly for her uſe. In the meane time the
Lord

Lord *Seton*, the more to purchase the favour of the King of *Spaine* and the Duke of *Alba*, went in disguised apparell unto the States, and drew many of the *Scots* that served them, unto a revolt, by faire words, good cheare, and such like enticements. And when he was at the point to be put to the torture, he hardly, and with great danger of his life, escaped unto the Duke of *Alba*, who promised to pay ten thousand Souldiers for halfe a yeare, but in vaine, because hee could not send over the Souldiers into *Scotland*, the warres were so hot in the *Low-Countries*.

In the meane time, the Bishop of *Rosse* who had followed the businesse of the *Queene* with good discretion, and was committed unto the custodie of the Bishop of *London* (because he had secretly kindled the rebelliō in the North) being now delivered, brought to passe, that the *French King*, by his Embassador, to wit, *Montluc*, dealt

very earnestly with Queene Elizabeth about the deliverance of the Queene of Scotland, who complained very much, that shee was kept straiter in prison, and that also under the Earle of Huntingdon, her professed enemy and competitor (since he as openly made claime unto the right of the Kingdome of England, as shee did.) The same also was urged exceedingly by the King of Spaines Embassador, in his Kings name. The Queene made answer (after shee had rehearsed the craftie purposes & devices of sundry men for the deliverie of the Queene of Scotland, who as shee closely insinuated, was privie to the late rebellion) that it would be great inconsideration, and dangerous folly to let her goe at libertie, who doth aspire so openly by such evill courses, unto the Kingdome of England: That of necessitie shee was enforced to keepe her straighter in prison, to send away many of her servants from her, whom shee had drawne thither in great number.

ber, and to joyne the Earle of Hunting-
 don (in whom shee did acknowledge
 no right unto the Kingdome, but some
 kindred with her) unto the Earle of
 Shrewsburie, whom shee had appoin-
 ted to be her keeper, who long since be-
 gan to suspect and distrust the fidelitie
 of some of his servants, and had percei-
 ved many of them daily wonne to fa-
 vour the *Queene of Scotland*, yet that
 the Earle of Huntingdon had beene
 removed from her a good while since.
 Moreover, shee promised that shee
 would omit n thing shee can doe, to
 make an end and a composition between
 the *Queene* and the *Scots*; and pro-
 tested that shee will not revenge the
 wrongs shee hath received at her hands.
 But yet shee hoped that the *Kings of*
Spaine and France, and the *Queene*
of Scotland also, will give her leave to
 make provision for the tranquillity both
 of her selfe and her subjects; which na-
 ture, reason, and her honour doe claime
 at her hands. If any of them shall devise
 any better and more evident meanes to
 avoid perill and danger, that shee would

with a good will beare and embrace the same.

After these things, the privie Councell of *England* sate oftentimes, and consulted whether it was best that shee were sent backe unto her owne subjects, or kept still in *England*, and what courses were best to be taken for the best preservation of the Kingdome, the Queene, and Religion.

About which time Pope *Pius Quintus* had caused his *Bull* or *Sentence Declaratorie* against *Queen Elizabeth* (the pretended Queene of *England*) and the Heretikes adhering unto her (I use the very words thereof) wherein also all her subjects were declared to bee absolved from their oath of fidelitie, and all other dutie, &c. And they that afterward obeyed her, were excommunicated, which was dated the five and twentieth day of February, in the yeare of our Lord, one thousand five hundred threescore and nine) to be fixed on the gates

gates of the Palace of the Bishop of London, in the night. Hereupon suspicions increased, that some dangerous matter was in working. And forthwith another rebellion was about to breake out in *Norfolke*, which was quenched in the beginning; some Gentlemen of *Norfolke* desiring to deliver the Duke (who was exceedingly loved of all men) had devised at *Harleston Faire*, by sounding of a Trumpet, to gather a multitude, under the pretence to expulse strangers out of the Land.

John Felton, who had fixed the Popes Bull on the Bishop of *Londons* gate in the night, being apprehended (for he would not flie when he might) being arraigned, with a stout courage confessed the deed, which yet he would not acknowledge to be any offence, was executed neere unto the place where he had fixed the same.

The same day *Felton* was arraigned, the Duke of *Norfolke* confessing

fining his offence, and shewing great penitence, and having by his writing given his word not to deale any more about the marriage with the Queene of Scotland without the privitie of Queene Elizabeth, was brought backe from the Tower of London, to the great joy of the people, remaining at his owne house, under the keeping of Sir Henry Nevill. And indeed he could not be arraigned of treason by the Statute of 25. of Edward the third, as Cecill said, who desirous of the Dukes good, was earnest to have him marry another woman, whereby he might be lesse feared, and the publike tranquillitie conserved. Yet some there were that thought he was let out of purpose, that he might be thrust into some greater danger. And indeed moe things came every day to light than hee suspected, and the credit of his most secret Counsellours were corrupted with hopes, or with bribes.

These

These times were full of suspicions and conspiracies; for there conspired to deliver the *Queene of Scotland* out of prison *Thomas* and *Edward Stanley*, the younger sonnes of the Earle of *Derby*, by the daughter of *Thomas Duke of Norfolk*, *Thomas Gerard*, *Rolston*, *Hall*, and others in *Derby-shire*: But *Rolstons* sonne, who was one of the Pensioners, opened the conspiracie, and they were all cast into prison, but *Hall*, who escaped into the Ile of *Man*, and from thence unto *Danbritton*, where being taken at the winning of the Castle, he was conveyed unto *London*, and there executed as a Traytor. And the Bishop of *Rosse* himselfe lately delivered out of prison, was againe delivered unto the custodie of the Bishop of *London*, for that he had secret conference with the Earle of *Southampton*, a man wholly addicted to the *Romane Religion*.

Queene Elizabeth (her minde being in great doubt of trouble,
upon

upon the publication of the Bull^s and the insurrection intended in *Norfolke*) sent *Cecill* and *Mildmay* unto the *Queene of Scotland*, who then lay at *Chattsworth* in *Derbyshire*, to consult and devise with her by what meanes the division in *Scotland* might in the best manner be compounded, shee restored unto her former estate, and provision made for the securitie of *Queene Elizabeth*, and the safetie of her little sonne. Shee did nothing but deplore her most distressed estate, complaine of the craftie policies of *Murrey*, excuse *Norfolke*, and put all her hope in the benignitie of *Queene Elizabeth*. They for the making and establishing of a sincere league of amitie betweene the *Realmes*, propounded these Articles.

I *The Treatie of Edinburgh should be confirmed:*
Shee

Shee should renounce her title and right to England during the life of Queene ELIZABETH.

2 *Shee should not renew nor keepe any League with any Prince against England.*

3 *Shee should not admit or receive any forraine Souldiers into Scotland.*

4 *Shee should have no practice nor intelligence with any Irish or English men, without the Queenes knowledge.*

5 *She should restore the English fugitives and rebels.*

6 *Shee*

6 Shee should make amends or recompence for the hurt done unto the English borderers.

7 Shee should enquire, according to the Law, for the murders both of Darly and Murrey.

8 She should deliver her sonne pledge into England.

9 Shee should not marrie with any English man without the knowledge of the Queene of England, nor with any other against the wills of the States of Scotland.

10 The Scots should not passe

pasſe over into Ireland without leave obtained out of England.

11 For the confirmation and aſſurance whereof, the *Queene* and the Commiſſioners to bee appointed, ſhould ſet to their hands and ſeales.

12 Six hoſtages, whom the *Queene* of England ſhould name, ſhould be ſent into England.

13 If the *Queene* of Scotland attempted any thing againſt the *Queene* of England, by her ſelfe, or by any other, ſhe ſhould loſe
all

all her right (ipso facto)
which she claimeth in Eng-
land.

14 The Castles of Hume
and Fast Castle, to be kept
by the English men three
yeares.

15 Some Fortresse also
in Galloway or Cantire
should be delivered unto the
English men, lest the Irish
Scots should infest Ireland
from thence.

16 Lastly, the Estates
of Scotland should con-
firme all and singular these
things by the authoritie of
Parliament.

To

To these propositions shee out of her discretion did answer warily enough, upon the sudden; but shee referred them for a fuller answer unto the Commissioners (sent by her Lientenants in *Scotland*) who were the Bishop of *Rosse*, her Embassadour in *England*, *Alexander Gordon* Bishop of *Galloway*, Uncle unto the Earle of *Huntley*, and *William* Lord *Levingston*, who afterward admitted some of these Articles, and rejected others. They answered, That the Treatie of *Edenburgh* should be confirmed, the title renounced during the life of *Queene Elizabeth*: That they must consider of the ancient league with *France*, which if they did not keepe, the *Queene* should lose her Dowrie; the *Scottish* Nation, of the which one hundred men at armes on horse-backe, and one hundred foure & twentie Archers are maintained in the Guard, Merchants, Students, many that possesse land by inheritance, and that have spirituall

tuall livings, should be put out, and lose their pensions, immunities and privileges which they enjoy, being very great, and *Scotland* should be deprived of the amitie and ayd of a most mightie Nation. Which things, except the *English* men did liberally and bountifully recompence, they cannot renounce and forsake the *French* league by any meanes: That they will not admit any forraine Souldiers, except in case of such a rebellion that cannot bee suppressd by Souldiers of their owne Countrie: That the *Queene of Scotland* shall have no intelligence with the Subjects of *England*, so that the *Queene of England* in like manner shall have none with the Subjects of *Scotland*, to the hurt of *Scotland*: If there be any *English* rebels or fugitives, they be in the hands of the *Scottish* rebels, and are to be demanded of them: The hurts done, are to be examined by Commissioners: For the murder of *Darby* and *Murrey*,

Murrey, let them be inquired of according to the Lawes of *Scotland*: That they cannot deliver the King for hostage, who is in the hands of them, that use the Kings name as a colour for their rebellion against the *Queene*: That it is strange, & a thing not heard of at any time, that a free Princess should be prescribed in her marriage by a foraine Prince, and her owne subjects: That the *Scots* shall not be sent over into *Ireland*, if reciprocally the *Irish* men be tyed with the same condition, not to passe over into *Scotland*. For the more firme assurance of these things, they consented to give hostages whomsoever the *Queene of England* would name, except the Duke of *Chasteanleroy*, the Earle of *Huntley*, *Argile* and *Atholl*. Moreover, they consented, that the *Queene of Scotland* should bee excluded from all her right of succession in *England*, if shee attempted any thing against the right of the *Queene*

Queene of *England* ; so that the Queene of *England* might againe be tyed in some equall penaltie also, if shee attempted any thing against the Queene of *Scotland*. Concerning the Castles of *Hume* and *Fast Castle*, they requested that they may be restored unto the Lord *Hume*, the true Lord and proprietarie of them, and that the *Englifo* men would detaine them no longer from him : And that to deliver Fortresses in *Galloway* or *Cantire* unto forrainers, was no other thing, than to give a new occasion of warre.

When they could not agree upon these Articles, and the Commissioners came not from the Rēgent of *Scotland*, and in the meane time it was reported and bruted, that ayd was earnestly requested by her friends of the Pope, the King of *France*, and the Duke of *Alba*, for the deliverance and freeing of the Queene of *Scotland*, and the *Englifo* rebels, as *Westmerland*, the Coun-

Countesse of *Northumberland*, and the rest, were conveyed secretly out of *Scotland*, nothing came of this Treatie : but yet

The Bishop of *Rosse* sent the Articles of this Treatie unto the Pope, and the Kings of *France* and *Spain*, and insinuated unto them, that the *Queene* of *Scotland* must of necessitie yeeld unto them, unlesse they holpe her both with advice and other ayd very shortly, which he did most importunately request at their hands, but in vaine: for all they were earnestly busied with other matters.

Anno 1571.

A Little before this time, *Ridolphus* the *Florentine*, before named (who had used much merchandize and trafficke at *London* fifteene yeares) sent very secretly the Letters of the Pope unto the
Queene

Queene of *Scotland*; in the which he promised his care and studie to the utmost of his goods and labour, to advance the Catholike Religion and her; and required her to shew favour, and give credit unto *Ridolphus* in all things; and also that hee may understand by him, who now determined to returne into *Italy*, by what meanes he may doe any good, and give any reliefe unto the Catholike Religion, and remedie unto the common mischiefes in *England* and *Scotland*. *Ridolphus* also in his owne private Letters requested the Queene to impart these things unto the Duke of *Norfolke*, and her friends, and that shee would commend him unto them. But shee delayed her answer (though the Kings of *France* and *Spaine*, and the Duke of *Alba*, wrote to the same effect) untill shee saw unto what end the treatie already begun, would come.

For there was come, as from the King of *Scotland*, to talke of the
Scottish

Scottish affaires, the Earle of *Morton*, *Petcarne* Abbot of *Dunfermel-
ling*, and *James Mac-Gill*, who un-
to *Queene Elizabeth* (comman-
ding them to lay downe evidently
the causes of their depriving the
Queene of Scotland, and to prove
them to be just) shewed a tedious
and long instruction or memori-
ally wherein with a most insolent li-
bertie and bitternesse of speech,
they endeavoured to prove the peo-
ple of *Scotland* to be superiour and
above their Kings, by the ancient
privileges of the Kingdome of
Scotland, by old forgotten and al-
so late examples, collected from
all places; yea, and by the authori-
tie of *Calvin* they also endeavoured
to prove, that the popular Magi-
strates are appointed and made to
moderate and keepe in order the
excesse and unrulinesse of Kings;
and that it is lawfull for them to
put the Kings that be evill and
wicked into prison, and also to de-
prive them of their Kingdomes.

But they spake much of their lenitie used toward their deprived Queene, because they suffered her to set her sonne in her place, and to appoint governours unto him. That it proceeded out of the mercie of the people, and not for her innocencie, that they suffered her to live : and many other things which turbulent wits doe malapertly devise and invent against the royall Majestie of Kings. This memoriall Queene *Elizabeth* read, but not without indignation ; and as a libell written in the slander and reproach of Kings, condemned it, though shee said nothing : but unto the Commissioners shee answered, that as yet shee did not see a just cause of their abusing and vexing the Queene in that manner ; and therefore her will was, that they should take some speedy course for the quenching the division and discord in *Scotland*.

Hereupon, at the house of *Bacon* Keeper of the great seale, it was pro-

proposed unto the Bishop of *Rosse*, the Bishop of *Galloway*, & the Lord *Levingston*, Commissioners for the *Queene of Scotland*; That for to give securitie unto the Kingdome and *Queene of England*, and unto the Noblemen that took the Kings part, the Duke of *Chasteauleroy*, the Earles of *Huntley* and *Argile*, the Lords *Hume* and *Herris*, and another Lord should be given for hostages; and the Castles of *Dumbritton* and *Hume* delivered unto the hands of the *English* men for three yeares: They answered, *It was not to be doubted, but the Queene of Scotland, who of her free will committed her selfe to the protection of the Queene of England, would also most willingly give her satisfaction in all things which might conveniently be done; but to deliver such great men, and such Fortresses, was no other thing, but to spoile and deprive the distressed Queene of the succour and strength of all her most faithfull friends, and of most strong places.* But they offered two Earles,

of whom one should be one of the three named, and two Lords, to be hostages for two yeares; but that the Holds and Castles by the league could not be delivered unto the English men, except others in like manner were delivered unto the French men. But (said Bacon) all the Realme of Scotland, the Prince, the Noblemen and Castles, are not all sufficient to give securitie unto the Queene, and the most flourishing Realme of England; and therefore the Queene of Scotland was not to be let goe upon any securitie the Scots could propose.

Hereupon they immediatly gathered, and said openly, that now at length they plainly understood, that the English were resolved fully to keepe the Queene prisoner for ever in England; and withall, to breake off the Treatie, since they exacted so earnestly such securitie, as Scotland could nor by any means performe; yet the other Councellors of England protested, that they

ear-

earnestly desired the deliverance of the *Queene* of *Scotland*, so that sufficient securitie were given. And to that purpose, they also talked with *Mourton* and his associates hereof, and of delivering the King into *England*, who in plaine termes answered, that they had no Commission to treat or deale either to receive home the *Queene* into *Scotland*, or to deliver the King into *England*. But the Commissioners of the *Queene* of *Scotland* rejected this speech as a frivolous excuse: For certainly they that had authoritie to deprive the *Queene*, had also authoritie enough to restore and set her at libertie: neither needed they to looke for any authoritie from the rest of the Conspirators, since that their wicked fact had made them equals. (*facinus equos inquinat, equat.*) As for the Prince he could not, being but five yeares old, give them authoritie; and as for the Regent, he had committed all the matter to *Queene* *Elizabeth*, and to her pleasure. There-

fore they besought the Commissioners of *England*, that these men might be compelled to consult thereof, or else the matter ended, and compounded upon equall conditions, without these men. But *Queene Elizabeth*, when shee saw nothing could be done to give her selfe, the King, and the Realme securitie, except both the factions agreed together; Shee thought it fitting that the Estates of *Scotland* which were shortly to assemble, did elect and choose out men who should endeavour to make a composition. Hereupon *Rosse* and his associates openly complained, that many of the *Queene of England*s Councillours did abuse the prudence of the *Queene of England*, and the patience of the *Queene of Scotland*, and to have deluded forraine Princes with their subtile policies, and brought the *Scots* in a vaine hope, to their great hurt. And indeed the *Queene of Scotland* stomacking and complaining
of

of the same, and weary of these delays, called away the Bishop of *Galloway* and *Levingston*, and commanded *Rosse* (whom the *Queene* of *England* had commanded to depart from *London*) to stay at *London*, by the right of an Ambassador (which made a suspicion to grow) and appointed her friends in *Scotland* to take armes, and not trust any longer unto the truces which had beene hurtfull unto them.

For in the time when these things were done in *England*, they had sustained great losses, many had beene put to execution, more slaine, and *Dunbritten* the strongest Fort in *Scotland* taken, and *James Hamilton* Archbishop of *Saint Andrews*, brother to the Duke of *Chasteanleroy*, as privie to the murder of the King, not so much as arraigned or tryed, was hanged, by the accusation of a Priest, who affirmed, that he had heard it in confession by one of the Regicides.

When now the captive Queene had no hope left, and was in great griefe, and all her servants but ten, and a Priest to say Masse, were sent away, and all her hope to obtaine her libertie was gone, shee could not refraine, but did open that which shee had long concealed in her minde. Shee therefore sent secretly unto the Duke of *Norfolke*, a long Commentarie of her purposes, which shee had written before time, and certaine love-letters in a private Character knowne to them two, and other letters to be carried to the Pope, and the King of *Spain*, by *Ridolph*, whom shee commended as one very carefull of her good: and her very friend *Higford* the Dukes Secretarie, who wrote out this Commentarie and Letters, in an usuall hand and letter, was commanded to burne it, but he hid it under the Matt in the Dukes chamber, and that of purpose, as it seemed. This *Ridolph*, once to the Duke himselfe, and
more

more times by Barker, reasoned thus: That he had observed, that there were many Noblemen and Commons in England, that desired an Innovation; and those were of three sorts: Some that had beene in credit in the time of *Queene Maries* reigne, and now were not accounted of: Others, that were addicted to the Popish Religion, and grudged inwardly that they might not use it freely: And others that were not content with their estate, and hoped for better. These were ready, but wanted some Nobleman to be their Captaine or Leader, and forraigne ayd. There could not be a fitter man for Captaine, and more noble than the Duke, who had the love of the Realme: And hee had great reason to revenge the wrongs done unto him, by his long detention in prison; and now to his reproach, not called unto the Parliament, in which he had a place and voice, as the chiefe st Nobleman, and Earle Marshall of England. And to perswade him the more effectually, he shewed him a roll of the Noblemen,

I 5 who

who had vowed to spend their
 lives and goods for him, if hee
 would attempt it. As for forraine
 ayd, he assured him that the Pope
 (so that the Romish Religion might be
 advanced) would defray all the charges
 of the warre, who had alreadie laid in
 banke a great summe of money the last
 yeare when the Bull was published; of
 the which money Ridolph himselfe had
 distributed a great part among the En-
 glish fugitives. Hee promised that the
 King of Spaine, irritated by the inju-
 ries of the English men, would send to
 helpe them foure thousand horse, and six
 thousand foot, which might be sent over
 and landed at Harwich, a Port in Es-
 sex (whereabouts the Duke had many
 tenants and Gentlemen holding of him)
 most fitly and without suspicion, in the
 beginning of Summer, when the Duke
 of Medina Cæli was to come with a
 good Navie into the Low-Countries.
 Lastly, he concluded, that such a mo-
 deration might be used, that all suspi-
 cion of treason in the Duke might be ta-
 ken away, and provision made for the
 safetie

*safetie of the Queene of England, if
onely shee would embrace or tolerate the
Romish Religion, and consent to the
marriage of the Queene of Scotland
with the Duke.*

The Duke gave eare to those things as likely, but yet refused to subscribe unto the letters of credit (as they call them) which Ridolph, being ready to depart, shewed unto him. Neither would he heare the advice of Rosse, which he had long studied, and put into his head by Barker; namely, that the Duke with a selected companie of Noblemen, to take the Queene suddenly, and to disturbe the Parliament, and by this meanes the marriage with the Queene of Scotland might be finished, and the Romish Religion set in better state in England, without any great stirre, and without any forraine ayd: Which might easily be done, having so many Noblemen ready and prompt to enter into this action, as could not be assembled againe in one place without suspicion. And just cause there was, for that the Duke

who had vowed to spend their lives and goods for him, if hee would attempt it. As for forraine ayd, he assured him that the Pope (so that the Romish Religion might be advanced) would defray all the charges of the warre, who had alreadie laid in banke a great summe of money the last yeare when the Bull was published; of the which money Ridolph himselfe had distributed a great part among the English fugitives. Hee promised that the King of Spaine, irritated by the injuries of the English men, would send to helpe them foure thousand horse, and six thousand foot, which might be sent over and landed at Harwich, a Port in Essex (whereabouts the Duke had many tenants and Gentlemen holding of him) most fitly and without suspicion, in the beginning of Summer, when the Duke of Medina Cæli was to come with a good Navie into the Low-Countries. Lastly, he concluded, that such a moderation might be used, that all suspicion of treason in the Duke might be taken away, and provision made for the safetie

*safetie of the Queene of England, if
onely shee would embrace or tolerate the
Romish Religion, and consent to the
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action, as could not be assembled againe
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just cause there was, for that the Duke

was kept long in prison against the Lawes of the Realme, and not admitted into the Parliament; and also for that more rigorous Lawes were devised against the Papists. And to doe this he brought in the example of Castration in Italy, and others, who by sudden actions had prosperously effected great matters; and how five Noblemen in Scotland, very lately, had disturbed the Parliament wherein Murrey was to be attainted, and gotten the Queene into their hands.

This advice the Duke (who was out of his inbred good nature farre from any villany) detested and disliked as pernicious and dangerous. But about the same time, Henry Percy offered his service unto Rosse, for to deliver the Queene of Scotland out of prison; so that Grange and Carr of Fernberst would receive her at the borders of Scotland, and his brother the Earle of Northumberland might be delivered out of Scotland. But when his credit was suspected, because of his
private

private familiaritie with *Burghley*, and also he delayed the matter very long, that plot came to nothing: (For the which, upon his submission he was notwithstanding fined in the Star-chamber at five thousand Markes, which neverthelesse the *Queene* pardoned.) As also the plot of *Powell* of *Sandford*, one of the Pensioners, and of *Owen*, a Gentleman belonging to the Earle of *Arundell*, who intended to adventure upon the same action, but that *Rosse* did inhibit and hinder them, as not able to performe so great an attempt, since they were not men of that abilitie & meanes.

Yet did many *English* men hasten the marriage betweene the *Queene* of *Scotland* and the Duke of *Norfolke* as much as they could; for they had by their perswasions brought him to thinke of the marriage with her againe, contrarie to the promise hee had made, which was first found out by these meanes.

Ridolpb

Ridolph the Florentine (whom we have spoken of) being sent over Sea into forraine Countries, to deale in the *Queene of Scotland* businesse, had acquainted *Charles Bailiffe a Flemming*, servant to the *Queene of Scotland*, with all his speeches with the *Duke of Alba*, and had delivered unto him letters in Ciphers unto her, the *Spanish Embassadour, Norfolk, Rosse*, and the *Lord Lumley*, all put in one Packet, which *Bailiffe* brought over with him, though *Rosse* had bidden him to leave them with the *Captaine of Calice* to be sent over. But as soone as he arrived in *Dover Haven*, hee was apprehended and put in prison; but his Packet of Letters was sent to the *Lord Cobham* Warden of the *Cinqueports*; which things *Rosse* knew with the first, and dealt so diligently and craftily with *Cobham* (who was not ignorant of the *Dukes* counsell) that that Packet was delivered unto him, and another with

with other old Letters wrapped up, was delivered unto the privie Councillors : And this was also signified unto *Bailiffe*. Yet he being upon the Racke, confessed some things, and amongst other, that a Packet of letters came to the hands of *Rosse*. This came to the knowledge of *Rosse* also, who forthwith very wisely sent away *Cutbbert* his Secretarie, and laid aside his Ciphers and privie Characters, with other things which might bring trouble, at his friends houses ; so that when *Sussex*, *Burghley*, *Mildmay* and *Sackville*, searched his house most narrowly, they found nothing, nor could wring nothing out of him with interrogations ; who stood upon it still, that an Embassadour was not to be compelled to yeeld reasons and make answers to any but his own Prince. Yet on the next day *Rosse* was delivered to the Bishop of *Ely* to keepe, and shortly after hee was sent into the Ile of *Ely*. Also Sir

Thomas

Thomas Stanley, Sir Thomas Gerard Knights, and Rolleston (of whom I have spoken) were sent to the Tower of London. And Henry Howard (who had sued to the Archbishop of Yorke) upon suspition, was committed to the keeping of the Archbishop of Canterburie.

About the same time, the Queene of Scotland had sent a certaine sum of money unto the French Embassadour, for her friends in Scotland; he delivered it unto *Barker & Higford*, who acquainting the Duke with the matter, delivered it to one *Browne* a Citizen of *Shrewsburie*, a retainer of the Dukes, to be carried by *Banister* and *Lunden* into Scotland, unto the Lord *Harris*. *Browne* being suspitious, when he perceived by the weight, that they had delivered the money in gold, and not in silver; he delivered it and the letters to the privie Counsellors. Herein the wiser sort did observe, that this was the first time that the Duke did commit treason,

in

in that he had given ayd unto *Herrin* and the *Scots*, proclaimed enemies, who had depopulated the *Englisk* borders. Hereupon *Higford* was cast into prison, who forthwith did voluntarily confesse all the matter concerning the money; and withall he told them in what places he had hidden the Letters, Ciphers, and the Commentarie of the *Queene of Scotland* (I mentioned) under the Matt, and in the tiles.

The *Queene of Scotland* discoursed in this Commentary these things at large. The *French King* allowed the conference appointed with the *Scots*, and that they proposed the marriage of *Anjeon* with *Queene ELIZABETH*, for no other purpose, but that they might with the better colour denie their ayd promised to restore her: That they secretly sought to hinder her marriage with *Don John d'Austria*, and that they favoured exceedingly the marriage with *Norfolke* (upon malice to the *Spaniard* :) That
the

the Duke of Alba did disallow the purpose of sending backe the Queene of Scotland into Scotland, so much that he thought thereby would be wrought not onely the utter destruction of the Queene, but also of the Romish Religion in all Britaine; because that the Queene returned into Scotland should be in danger of siege, or else of necessitie put to the adventure of a battell with the Rebels, who may easily get her into their hands, by the helpe of the English men, before forraine ayd could come to helpe her. Therefore since shee cannot be in safetie in Scotland, and no hope of helpe was likely to be out of France, turmoiled with civill warres, the most convenient course seemed for her, to resort for succour unto the King of Spain, who had offered to marry her unto Don John d'Austria, which yet shee would refuse, upon condition that the Romish Religion might be restored in Britaine, by Norfolke. And also that her sonne might speedily be conveyed out of Scotland, and sent into Spaine; for so he might be kept in safetie, instructed in
 his

his tender yeares in the Romish Religion, and withall, all pretext taken from the Scots, who use his authoritie and name to countenance their rebellion. For the working of these things, and the procuring of forraine ayd, Ridolph was with speed to be sent away, and admonished secretly to keepe these things from the French King by all meanes.

When the privie Councillours had received this Commentarie, the Letters I spake of, and others sent from the Pope, and Barker being taken, had confessed all these things; Sir Ralph Sadleir was commanded to watch the Dukes house (at the Charter-house in London) with a band of Souldiers. The next day the Duke himselfe being examined (not knowing what his servants had confessed, and thinking that the Commentarie had beene burned and the Letters also) denied all things stoutly: a day or two after, namely, on the seventh day of September, he was conveyed to the Tower of London againe, by
Sir

Sir Ralph Sadleir, Sir Thomas Smith, Sir Henry Nevill, and Doctor Wilson. And then Banister, who was the Dukes Lawyer, and the Earles of Arundell and Southampton, the Lords Lumley, and Cobham, and Thomas his brother, Henry Percie, Lowder, Powell, Goddyere, and others were put in prison, who every one in hope of pardon, told all they knew.

As soone as the Commissioners shewed to him the confessions of these men, the letters of the Queen of Scotland, and of Russe, with the Commentarie, he was astonished; but beholding the Commentarie, with the Letters which he thought had beene burned, he brake out into these words: *I am betrayed and made me by my servants, because I knew not how to distrust, which is the sinne of wisdom.* But he besought the Commissioners very humbly to speake unto the Queene in his behalfe, promising that he would hide nothing that he knew; and so-

solemnly protesting that hee approved nothing which might have beene wrong unto the *Queene*, or detriment unto the *Realme*; yea, that hee utterly condemned the purposes and plots to surprize the *Queene* and the *Tower of London*, and to set free the *Queene of Scotland*; & that he never had a thought to bring in any forraine forces, but onely to suppress the *Scots* that rebelled against the *Queene*. The same day, being examined of fifty Articles, more or less, he concealed nothing. Then all the course of the businesse was laid downe and declared in the *Star-chamber*, a great assembly of *Noblemen*, the *Major* and *Aldermen of London* being present, and afterwards to all the *Citizens* in the *Guild-hall*, by *William Fleetwood* the *Recorder*.

But when the *Bishop of Rosse* was accused by the confession of every one of them, and by the *Duke* himselfe also, as the contriver of the businesse, a serious confu-

sultation was had, what was to be done with him, that was an Embassadour. For he whiles he thought it lawfull for him (as such kinde of men use to doe) to aduance the affaires of his Prince by any manner of meanes, & not to be brought in question of Law upon the inviolable privilege of Embassadours in a strange Court, had done many things long since turbulently, in kindling a commotion, and having nightly conferences with the Earle of Southampton and others, and now againe with the English fugitives in the Low-Countries, the Duke of Alba, the King of Spaine, & the Pope, about the invasion of England: Therefore the cause was put to David Lewis, Valentine Dale, William Ambrey, and Henry Jones Doctors of the Civill Law.

I First, whether an Embassadour that raiseth or procureth rebellion against a Prince unto whom he is Embassadour, may enjoy the privileges of an Embassadour, and not be subject

to punishment as an enemy?

They answered; Such an Embassadour by the Law of Nations, and civill Law of the Romans, hath lost all the privileges of an Embassadour, and was subject to punishment.

2 *Secondly, whether an Agent of a Prince, who is deprived by publike authoritie, and in whose place another is crowned, may enjoy the privilege of an Embassadour?*

They answered; If such a Prince be lawfully deprived, his Agent cannot challenge the privilege of an Embassadour, since none but they which have the rights of an absolute Prince can appoint Embassadours.

3 *Thirdly, whether a Prince who shall come into the Kingdome of another Prince, and be kept in prison, may have his Agent; and whether he be to be accounted an Embassadour?*

They answered; If such a Prince who shall come into the Kingdome of another Prince, and be kept in prison,

prison, hath not lost his principallitie, he may have an Agent; but whether that Procurator may be reputed an Embassadour, that dependeth on the authoritie of his Commission or Delegation.

4 Fourthly, whether if any such Prince doe denounce and tell to such an Agent and Prince being in prison, That this Procurator shall be accounted no longer for an Embassadour; whether this Procurator by the Law may challenge the privileges of an Embassadour?

They answered; The Prince may forbid the Embassadour, that he doe not come into the Realme, and command him to depart out of the Realme, if he doe not containe himselfe within the bounds prescribed unto an Embassadour; yet in the meane time he may use and enjoy the privileges of an Embassadour, according to the authoritie given him by his Commission.

After

After these answers of the learned Lawyers, *Rosse* being brought back out of the Isle of *Ely*, was sharply rebuked, and told by the Councillors, that he was no more to be acknowledged for an Embassadour, but as a plotter of treasons to be severely punished. Hee answered, *That he is the Embassadour of an absolute Queene unjustly deprived ; That hee had dealt diligently according to his place and dutie, for the libertie of his Prince, and the good of both the Kingdomes ; That he came into England with a sufficient authoritie (which hee shewed) with the most ample authoritie of an Embassadour ; and that the sacred rights and privileges of Embassadours are not to be violated by any meanes.* *Burghley* told him in discreet words, that neither the privileges of Embassage, nor letters of publike credit did protect Embassadours who offend against the publike Majestie of the Prince, but that they are subject to punishment ; other-

wise it might be lawfull for wicked minded Embassadours to attempt any thing against the lives of Princes. He on the other side stood still in it, that the rights and privileges of Embassadours were never violated by the course of Law, but (that I may use his owne words) by the way of fact : and bitingly willed them not to use him with more rigour, than was used to the English Embassadour Throgmorton in France, and to Tamworth and Randolph in Scotland, who had raised sedition, and openly maintained it ; and had not any other punishment, but onely were commanded to depart within a time appointed. When they urged him with the testimonies of English men, he with faire words requested them not to doe so, since it was a long received custome, which was growne to a Law (as he said) That the testimonie of a Scot against an English man, and of an English man against a Scot was not to be received. After much alter-

altercation, whether this was to be allowed, but onely betweene the Borderers of both the Kingdomes, and that also in matters of the borders; and then whether the *English* Embassadors had raised and fostered rebellions; *Rosse* was committed to the Tower of *London*, where he was kept very close, and answered in brieft to all the interrogatories, with that caution and warinesse, that his answers could hurt no body. He excused the *Queene of Scotland*, that she being a prisoner, and in her best time and age, could not but seeke all the meanes she could of libertie, since *Queene ELIZABETH* excluded her from all accessse unto her, put her out of all hope of her libertie, and openly maintained her adversaries. He excused the Duke, that he had dealt nothing in the marriage with the *Queene of Scotland*, but with the consent of most of the *Queenes* Councell; neither that he could leave her (though he

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had

had promised so to doe under his hand) for that there had passed a mutuall repromission of future marriage betweene them before that time. Lastly, he excused himselfe, that he being an Embassador, could not without a great offence depart from his dutie, and abandon his soveraigne Princeesse in her affliction and adversitie, and that he propounded the taking of Queene ELIZABETH for no other cause, but to trie the Dukes mind, whether he stood constant and resolute. But the crimes of the other he wittily extenuated, and by no meanes he could be induced to tell the names of the Noblemen that promised to helpe the Duke to surprize the Queene; But he confessed that he by the commandement of the Queene of Scotland, did aske advice of the Duke, Arundell, Lumley, and Throgmorton, by their servants that came to and fro, and the Vicount Mountague by Lumley, about the deliverie of the

the Castles in *Scotland*, the hostages, the deliverie of the King of *Scotland* unto the *Englisk* men, and the restoring of the *Englisk* Rebels. Thus much of theie matters this yeere, out of the Dukes confessions, and the Commentarie of *Rosse* himselfe, written with his owne hand, sent to the *Queene of Scotland*.

Matthew Earle of Lennox, Regent of *Scotland*, Grandfather to to the King, had summoned an assembly of the Estates at *Sterling*, in the Kings name, where living securely, he was taken on the sudden by the Noblemen of the contrary faction, who held a Parliament at *Edenburgh* at the same time in the *Queenes* name. He had yeelded himselfe to *David Spense* of *Wormeston*, who labouring diligently to save his life, was slaine, together with the Regent (who had governed the Realme for the King his Grandchild but foure-teene moneths) by *Bell* and *Caul-*

der. In his place was substituted by the voices of the Kings faction, *John Areskin Earle of Marre*, who died after he had beene Regent but thirteene moneths.

These dangerous times produced in the Parliament holden in *England* this Law: It was made treason, if any attempted any harme or hurt, made warre, or moved any other to raise warre against the *Queene*: If any affirmed that she possessed not the *Crowne* rightfully, but that others had more right to the *Crowne*, or did say that shee was an *Heretike*, *Schismaticke*, or *Infidell*; did usurpe the right of the *Kingdome* during her life, or shall say, that any other hath right to the *Crowne*, or that the *Lawes* and *Statutes* cannot define and binde the right of the *Crowne*, and the succession of the same. If any in the *Queenes* life, by written or printed book expressly affirme, that any is or ought to be heire or successor of the *Queene*, besides the naturall issue of her owne body; or shall print or sell any bookes or schedules to that effect; he and his

factors

factors for the first time shall be imprisoned a whole yeare, and lose halfe his goods; and for the second offence, incurre Premunire, that is, to lose all his goods, and lie in prison for ever.

This seemed somewhat severe unto many who were of opinion, that the tranquillity of the Realme would be established by the designation of a certaine heire. But it is wonderfull what jests some lewd construers of words, made of that clause, *Besides the naturall issue of her body*; since the Lawyers call them *Naturall* that are borne out of matrimonie, but the legitimate they call out of the forme of words used in the Law of England, *Children of his body lawfully begotten*; in-somuch, that being a young man, I heard it often said, that that word was thrust into the Act by *Leicester*, to the intent that he might at one time or other, thrust upon them, against their wills, some Bastard sonne of his, as the naturall issue of the *Queene*.

An Act was made also at this Parliament, that it should be treason in them, who reconciled any to the Church of *Rome*, by any Bulls or Rescripts of the Popes, or any that were reconciled: they that releevd the reconcilers, or brought in any *Agune Dai*, *Grana*, *Crucifixes*, or other things consecrated by the Pope, into *England*, should incurre the penaltie of *Premunire*. And that it should be misprision of treason in them, that did not discover their reconcilers.

It was moved in the same Parliament, that if the *Queene* of *Scotland* did offend againe against the Lawes of *England*, that they might proceed against her, according to the Law, as against the wife of a Peere of the Kingdome of *England*: but the *Queene* would not suffer it to passe.

Anno

Anno 1572.

ON the sixteenth day of Janua-
rie, *Thomas Howard* Duke of
Norfolke was arraigned at *Westmin-*
ster Hall, before *George Talbot* Earle
of *Sbrensburie*, appointed for that
day Lord high *Steward of England*;
and on both sides of him sate the
Peeres, namely, *Reynold Grey* Earle
of *Kent*, *Thomas Ratclif* Earle of
Sussex, *Henry Hastings* Earle of
Huntingdon, *Francis Russell* Earle
of *Bedford*, *Henry Herbert* Earle of
Pembrooke, *Edward Seymer* Earle of
Hertford, *Ambrose Dudley* Earle of
Warwicke, *Robert Dudley* Earle of
Leicester, *Walter Devereux* Viscount
Hereford, *Edward Clinton* Admirall,
William Lord Howard of *Effingham*
Chamberlaine, *William Cecill* Lord
Burghley Secretarie, *Arthur* Lord
Grey of *Wilton*, *James Blount* Lord
Mountjaye, *William Lord Sands*,
Thomas Lord Wentworth, *William*
Kings Lord

Lord *Burrough*, *Lewis* Lord *Mordant*,
John Powlet Lord *Saint-John* of *Ba-*
sing, *Robert* Lord *Rich*, *Roger* Lord
North, *Edmund* *Bruges* Lord *Chan-*
dis, *Oliver* Lord *Saint-John* of *Blet-*
nesboo, *Thomas* *Sackville* *L. Buckhurst*,
 and *William* *Wess* Lord *De La-warre*.

Silence being made, the Letters
 Patents of the Commission was read;
 then a white wand was delivered
 unto the Lord *Steward*, by *Garret*
King at *Armes*, w^{ch} he shortly after
 delivered unto the *Serjeant* at *armes*,
 who stood by and held it up all the
 while. Then the *Earles* and *Barons*
 were called by their names, and e-
 very one made answer to his name.
 Then silence was made again, & the
Lieutenant of the *Tower* was com-
 manded to returne his precept, and
 to bring the *Duke* to the *Barre*.
 Forthwith he was brought in, and
Sir Owen Hopton stood on the one
 side of him, and *Sir Peter Carey* on
 the other side; and next by him
 stood a man holding an *Axe*, with
 the edge from the *Duke*: Silence
 being made againe, the *Clerke* of

the Crowne said thus to the Duke;
Thomas Duke of Norfolke late of Kenningale, in the Countie of Norfolke,
bold up thy hand: (which when he
had done, the Clerke read the Indite-
ment with a loud voice, that is
to say, That in the eleventh yeare
of *Queene ELIZABETH* and after,
the Duke did trayterously devise
to put her from her Crowne, and
to kill her, and to raise warre a-
gainst her, and to bring in forraine
forces to invade the Realme. That
whereas he knew *MARIE* late
Queene of Scotland to have claimed
the Diadem of *England*, with the
title and armes thereof, yet hee
without the *Queenes* knowledge
intended to marrie with her, and
lent her a great summe of money,
contrary to the promise hee had
made under his owne hand. That
whereas he knew the Earles of *Nor-*
thumberland and *Westmerland*, *Mar-*
kenfield, and others, had raised re-
bellion against the *Queene*, and
were fled into *Scotland*, he relieved
them

them with money. That in the thirteenth yeare of the Queene, he by Letters requested ayd of men from Pope *Pius Quintus*, the professed enemy of the Queene, the King of *Spaine*, and the Duke of *Alba*, to deliver the Queene of *Scotland*, and to restore Papistry into *England*. Lastly, that he gave ayd unto *Herris* a *Scot*, and other enemies of the Queene in *Scotland*. This being read, the Clerke asked the Duke, whether he were guiltie of these crimes or no?

He besought, that if it were lawfull by the Law, he might have a Lawyer appointed him to defend or plead his cause. *Catlin* Chiefe Justice answered, that it was not lawfull. The Duke said; *It is meet that I submit my selfe to the opinion of the Judges; but there be many darke and obscure points in this businesse; neither understood I of my arraignment till within this fouteene houres; I was kept from bookes; now I see, I am to fight for my life without weapons:*

Yea

Yet I have heard, that a Lawyer was assigned unto Humfrey Stafford in a case of treason, in the reigne of Henry the seventh. Dier chiefe Justice of the Common pleas answered, that a Lawyer was assigned unto *Stafford* about the privilege of the Sanctuarie, from whence he was taken away by force, and that he answered for himselfe without a Lawyer for the treason. The Duke said, I must speake this day for my life, my goods, for my children, and that which is most to be respected, for my loyaltie and honestie (let honour goe by:) yet let me aske one question; Whether that the enumeration of the crimes must be bolden for true in every part, and to which part I must answer? *Catlin* said, When the causes be true, the enumeration is also to be accounted true. I do desire to be told (said the Duke) whether every singular thing be treason; For I have heard in the cause of the Lord Scroope, in the reigne of Henry the fourth. As hee would have said more, the Clerke
of

of the Crowne interrupted him, speaking aloud ; *Thomas Duke of Norfolk*, art thou guiltie, or not guiltie ? He said, *Not guiltie*. The Clerke asked him againe ; *How wilt thou be tryed ?* I commend (said he) my cause to God and to my Peeres : The hainousnesse of my crimes woundeth my heart, but the benigntie of her Majestie from whom I could expect no more, doth recomfort me : and I beseech you, my Lord Steward, that I may be dealt withall according to Law, and that my memorie, which is slipperie, may not be opprest with the confused varietie of things. That I have you my Peeres and Judges, I acknowledge my selfe happie ; for unto many of your integrities I would willingly commit my life. I trusting unto mine innocencie did not flie : but yet I cannot but ingenuously confesse, that I have transgressed against the Queene, but in no treason. I beseech you let not those things of smaller moment be put amongst the other of treason.

Then said *Barham* the Queenes Serjeant

Serjeant at Law ; The crimes of treason whereof thou art indicted are these ; Thou didst devise to deprive the *Queene* of her Realme and of her life : Thou didst intend to marry with the *Queene of Scotland* : Thou didst send for forraine power to invade the Realme : Thou gavest maintenance unto the Rebels, and didst helpe the *Scots*, enemies to the *Queene*. The Duke interrupted him, saying, *Barham*, I pray you doe not aggravate the matter with words, in objecting the marriage and other things which be not treason. *Barham* turning to the Noblemen, urged the matter, saying ; He that would marry her that claimeth the Kingdome, the same man desireth and seeketh after the Kingdome ; but this the Duke began when he was one of the Commissioners at *Yorke*, to heare the cause of the *Queene of Scotland* ; at which time he was sworne to weigh indifferently and uprightly the accusations and defences on both sides.

The

The Duke said ; *That cause hath sundry parts, which bee without the compasse of treason.* The Steward of England bade the Duke not to use such digressions from the purpose, who when *Barham* still urged it with a loud voice, hee acknowledged that the Queene of *Scotland* had claimed the Realme of *England* as due to her, but that she had given over the claime long since.

Barham to the contrary shewed how she had not left off the claime, because shee had not yet made a release or renunciation thereof; and hee accused the Duke hainously, that hee taught the Delegates of *Scotland* what to say; and this out of the confession of the Bishop of *Rosse*. The Duke confessed that *Lidington* moved the marriage unto him, and that hee refused it, and that he told them nothing; and requested that the Bishop of *Rosse* might be produced before him.

Then

Then did *Barham* prosecute at large many things which I have mentioned before, to prove that the Duke did unmeasurably desire the Kingdome: and stood much upon this point; What other thing could the Duke propose unto himselfe in his minde, without the privie of the *Queene*, to marrie the *Queene of Scotland*, a woman without goods, without Kingdome, (her sonne being now established in the Realme of *Scotland*) but that hee might get by her meanes or right the Kingdome of *England*, & consequently deprive the *Queen* of her life and Kingdome? The Duke said; *These things are farre fetched to convince me to have imagined the deprivation and destruction of the Queene.* I will come neerer, said *Barham*: It is not unknowne that you devised with others, to surprize the Tower of *London* (which is the chiefeft hold of *England*,) so that it is of necessitie that you then compassed the destruction of the

the Queene, since Kingdomes cannot endure to have a partner. The Duke denied not, that one *Hopton* put into his head, the surprizing of the Tower, yet that he rejected the same: Why then, said *Barham*, didst thou aske the Earle of *Pembrookes* advice, who dissuaded thee?

Barham went on, and urged him, that when the Queene requested of the Infant King of *Scotland* certaine Castles, and the *English* Rebels out of *Scotland* to be delivered; the Duke secretly willed the *Scots* not to consent thereunto. He accused him also, that he attempted privily to steale away the Queene of *Scotland* out of prison: And this was after he had solemnly promised to meddle or deale with her no more.

Then *Candish* was brought in witnesse against him; that the Duke had a resolute purpose to marrie her, and that he asked him if hee could draw his Uncle to his side, if Queene ELIZABETH dyed.

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The Duke utterly denied these things, and rejected his testimonie, as of a needy man, and a childish witnesse. Moreover, it was shewed, that the Duke sent secretly his man to the Earles of *Northumberland* and *Westmerland*, to advise them not to rise in rebellion, as a thing that would prove very dangerous. Also the Letters of the *Queene of Scotland* were shewed, wherein shee lamented that *Northumberland* was intercepted before he was ready to rise. (For this flying newes was brought to her, perchance of set purpose.)

To these things the Duke answered: *These reasons doe not probably prove, that he compassed the destruction of the Queene, and that nothing yet brought against him, was of any moment, but onely the testimony of the Bishop of Rosse; neither was this to be received, since he was a forrainger, citing the authoritie of Bracton, the most learned Lawyer of our Land; that he never made such reckoning of Northum-*

thumberland and Westmerland, that he would put his life into their hands : he relied (he said) and trusted so much unto his innocencie, that he had never so much as a thought to flie.

Gerard the Queenes Attourney said ; It is most apparant that he did purposely intend to marrie the Queene of Scotland to worke the Queenes destruction : It is also apparant, that he did advisedly consult of invading the Realme, by the Letters unto the Pope, the King of Spaine, and the Duke of Alba. All his dealings with *Ridolph* are now well knowne, by the secret Ciphers and Charactericall notes hidden under the tiles of *Howard* house ; also by the Letters (which he commanded to be burned) found in the Matts in the entrie of the chamber ; and all these things may be proved out of the examinations of them who were not terrified with torments, nor attainted of treason. To these matters the Duke said ; *Of the consultations of the Pope*

Pope and the King of Spaine, I was neither author nor futor; yea, I alwayes disliked them. Let them be punished that committed the fault, and let them not charge mee, to excuse themselves.

Furthermore, Gerard accused the Duke, that he talked with Ridolph of the landing of ten thousand Souldiers out of Flanders at Harwich, a Haven in Essex; and this out of the examination of Barker: And also that Letters were written and sent by Ridolph unto the King of Spaine, and the Duke of Alba, unto which, although the Duke did not subscribe, yet that he sent by the counsell of Rosse, Barker his Secretarie unto the Spanish Embassadour, who should assure them that they were his very Letters. The Duke said; *My memorie faileth mee, neither can it call to minde such intricate variety of matters. You Lawyers have your brievenotes, I am put to answer ex tempore. This is also improbable, that I should deal with the Pope,*

Pope, unto whose Religion I was al-
 wayes an adversarie. I had rather be
 pulled in pceces by horses, than revole
 from the Religion I professe. The situa-
 tion of Harwich doth easily confute all
 this accusation. Who saeth not, how
 hard a matter it is to bring an Armie
 thorow that Countrie, which is all en-
 closed, and most troublesome, with nar-
 row wayes? If I had imagined to make
 warre against my Prince, I should
 doubtlesse have furnished my selfe with
 Armour; but in these whole ten yeares,
 I have not bought any more than eight
 Corslets, and no Gun-powder at all;
 I would never have committed such
 Letters unto Barkers fidelitie, but ra-
 ther unto Banister; whom I esteemed a-
 bove many Barkers.

Now were brought forth the
 Letters of the Bishop of Rosse, sent
 out of prison unto the Queene of
 Scotland, and intercepted; out of
 which the former things were con-
 firmed. The Duke required to see
 the Letters; for he seemed to doubt
 that they were counterfeited. But the
 Lord

Lord Steward said, Doubt not, they be written with *Rosses* owne hand. Another short Letter written with Oker by the Duke, commanding his man to burne a bundle of Letters hidden in a certaine place, and to lay the fault upon *Rosse*, who might easily avoid the Law, by the privilege of an Embassadour, was also shewed: To these Letters the Duke said; *I being certifi'd, that it was divulged amongst the common people, that I had accused many; I answered in that short Letter; and when I saw all places to be narrowly searched, I commanded that bundle to be burned, that I might keepe many men from trouble.*

Bromley the Queenes Sollicitor, shewed the Letters of *Ridolph*, wherein he signified, that the Duke of *Alba* approved their purpose; and also the Popes Letters unto the Duke, dated the tenth day of May. Then *Wilbrabam* made an eloquent speech of the credit of the testimonies of the Bishop of *Rosse*,
and

and of the Dukes servants. Unto which the Duke said; *I have not the skill to refell so polished and ornate a speech; yet the Orator as skilfull as he is, for all that, left out what the force of feare is, which oftentimes quaieth and daunteth a good courage; and againe he commended and urged Bracton against the credit of forraigne witnesses.* Catlin chiefe Justice made answer: In such causes as these, the testimonies of forrainers are allowable, and that it was in the will of the Peeres to give credit or disallow such testimonies.

Now they were come to prove that the Duke had relieved the Rebels after they were fled, which appeared out of the Letters of the Countesse of Northumberland, in which she gave thanks to the Duke for the money secretly sent unto her and her husband. As concerning the last objection, about the relieving the Scots, enemies to the Queene, was proved out of the Dukes Letters to Banister, out of the

the confession of *Banister*, and the money delivered unto *Browne* of *Shrewsburie*. Here the Duke asked the Judges, *Whether the subjects of another Prince confederate with the Queene, may be accounted enemies to the Queene?* *Catlin* answered, they might; and that the *Queene* of *England* may make warre with some Duke of *France*, and yet at the same time be in amitie with the King of *France*.

When now it drew toward night, the Lord Steward asked the Duke what he had more to say for himselfe? He answered; *I put my trust in the equitie of the Lawes*. The Lord Steward commanded the Lieutenant of the Tower to take the Duke aside; and then silence being made, hee turned unto the Peeres, and said: *You have heard how Thomas Duke of Norfolke hath beene indited of high treason, who hath pleaded not guiltie, and put himselfe unto God and to you; therefore it is your part, to consider among you, whether*

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he

be be guiltie or no, and to declare your opinions according to your conscience, and upon your honour : and withall, he bade them to goe aside, and to consult one with another. After a little time, they returned unto their places : Then the Steward beginning at the lowest, said : My Lord De La-ware, is Thomas Duke of Norfolke guiltie of the crimes of high treason, whereof he is indicted, or not guiltie ? He rising up, laying his hand on his breast, said, Guiltie. In like manner were each one asked in their order. Then was the Duke brought againe to the Barre, unto whom the Lord Steward spake in this manner : Thomas Duke of Norfolke, thou hast been indicted of sundry high treasons, and put thy selfe to be tryed by God and thy Peeres, who have found thee guiltie ; hast thou any thing to say why judgement should not be given against thee ? He answered, The will of God (who will judge betweene me and my false accusers) be done.

All men now keeping silence,
the edge of the Axe was turned
towards him : Then Barham for
the Queene requested the Lord
Steward to give Judgement; which
he (weeping) did, in these for-
mall words : For as much as thou
Thomas Duke of Norfolke hast beene
indited of high treason, and hast plea-
ded not guiltie, and hast put thy selfe
upon thy Peeres, who have found thee
guiltie ; therefore this Bench doth ad-
judge that thou shalt be led backe from
hence unto the Tower (from whence
thou camest) and from thence laid on a
Hurdle, shalt be drawne unto the place
of execution, and there to be hanged,
cut downe alive, to be borvelled, thy head
cut off, thy body to be divided into foure
quarters, thy head and thy quarters to
be disposed of at the Queenes pleasure :
And so our Lord have mercie on thy
soule. The Duke hearing this judge-
ment, said with a good courage ;
Judgement is given against mee, as a-
gainst a Traitor ; I trust in God, that
excluded from your fellowship, I shall
L 2 enjoy

enjoy the celestiall fellowship ; I will prepare my selfe to die ; I request this one thing, that the *Queene* would be good to my children and servants, and see my debts paid.

A few dayes after *Barney* and *Mather* were executed, who conspired with *Herle* a *Ruffian*, to kill some of the privie Councillours, and to deliver the Duke : but *Herle* presently discovered the matter, unto whom *Barney* said smiling (when he saw him brought forth to give evidence against him) *Herle thou wentest but one houre before mee, otherwise I had stood there in thy place to give evidence, and thou hadst stood here in my place to be hanged.* These plots and the like, which were many, were taken hold of to hasten the Dukes death, which yet was stayed and deferred for foure moneths. But on the second day of June, at eight of the clock in the morning, the Duke was lead unto a Scaffold new builded on the Tower-hill ; and when he was gone up, and *Alexander*

Alexander Nowel Deane of Pauls (who was there to comfort him) had required the people to be silent; he said, *It is no strange thing for men to suffer death in this place, although I am the first since the Queenes reigne, God grant I may be the last, (the people said aloud, Amen.)* Then (to set downe compendiously that which I heard him speake more at large) he said; *I acknowledge that my Peeres have justly found me guiltie, neither purpose I to excuse my selfe; I doe ingenuously confesse, that I have dealt with the Queen of Scotland in weightie and important businesse, without the knowledge of my Queene, which I ought not to have done, for the which I was imprisoned. But being let out when I had submitted my selfe, and given my word, that I would not haue any more to doe with her; yet I confesse I have bad; and that troubleth my conscience: But I neither promised nor swore it at the Lords Table (as the common report is;) I talked once with Ridolph, but nothing to the hurt of*

the Queen; for very many know, that I had reckonings and accounts about money with him upon bands. I found him to envie the tranquillitie of England, and to bee very sharpe witted to devise mischiefe; I saw two letters from the Pope, unto which I assented not; neither did I to the rebellion in the North; I was never Papist: ever since I had any taste of Religion, I embraced the true Religion, and put all my trust in the blood of Christ my Redeemer and Saviour: Yet I cannot deny, but I had some servants and familiar friends which were addicted unto the Pope; if I have sinned against God, the Church or Protestants therein, I humbly desire God and them to forgive me. Then reciting a Psalm or two, hee said with a loud voice, Into thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit. Then he embraced Henry Lee, and whisped a few words in his eares, and also to Nowel the Deane, who turning to the people, said; The Duke desireth you to pray unto God, that he may have mercy upon him, and
withall

withall hold your peace for distra-
cting his minde. Hee forgave the
Executioner, and refused the Nap-
kin, with which hee offered to co-
ver his eyes, and said, *I feare not
death* ; hee kneeled a while in his
prayers, and *Nowel* with him : Then
laying his head on the blocke, it
was taken away at one blow, and
was shewed to the people by the
Executioner.

Scarce ten daies after his execu-
tion, *William Lord De Li-Ware,*
Ralph Sadleir, Thomas Wilson, Do-
ctor of the Lawes, and *Thomas*
Bromley the *Queenes Soliciter*, were
sent to the *Queene of Scotland* full
of sorrow and griefe, to expostu-
late criminally with her, that shee
had usurped the title and armes of
the Realme of *England*, and had not
released nor renounced them, as
was agreed in the treatie of *Eden-
burgh* : That she had sought to mar-
rie with the Duke of *Norfolke*, with-
out the *Queenes* privitie ; and to
get and obtaine the same marriage

with the better successe by force, and to deliver the Duke out of prison, she had tried all meanes by her Agents and Ministers : That shee had raised the rebellion in the North, had relceved the Rebels (after they were put to flight) in *Scotland* and the Low-Countries : That shee had made suit by *Ridolph* the *Italian* for forraine helpe, from the Pope, from the King of *Spaine* and others, to invade *England* : That shee had conspired with certaine *English* men, to take her by force out of prison, and to proclaime her *Queene of England* : That shee had received letters from the Pope, wherein he promised to cherish her, as the Henne doth her Chickens, and to account them that stood for her, the true children of the Church : Lastly, that she had procured the Popes Bull against the *Queene*, and had suffered her selfe to bee publikely called and named *Queene of England*, by her Servants and Ministers in forraine Countries.) To

To these things shee (first protesting that shee was a free *Queene* and subject to none) answered with a stout courage and countenance.

I. *That shee had not usurped the title and armes of England, but that the King of France and her husband imposed them upon her, being very young, and under the direction of her husband, and therefore not to bee laid upon her for a fault; neither that shee did weare or use them after her husbands death; neither that she will claime them as long as* *Queene* ELIZABETH

BETH and her children lived.

2 That she never imagined any detriment or hurt to the Queene by her marriage with the Duke of Norfolk, being perswaded it would be for the good of the Common-wealth ; and that shee did not renounce it, because shee had given her faith and troth unto him.

3 That shee willed the Duke by some meanes to get away out of danger and prison, which she did out of the dutie shee ought to him as her husband.

4 That

4 That she had not raised rebellion, nor was privy to the same, who was alwaies most ready to reveale any attempts against the Queene if she would vouchsafe to heare her speake.

5 That she never received the English Rebels, onely that in her letters shee commended the Countesse of Northumberland unto the Duke of Alba.

6 That shee used Ridolph (whom she knew to be highly in the Popes favor) in many matters, yet received no letters from him.

7 That

7 That shee never moved any to attempt her deliverance ; yet that she willingly gave care unto them that offered their labour therein ; and for that purpose, that she communicated unto Rolston and Hall a private Character.

8 That shee had received sometimes letters from the Pope, very pious and consolatorie, in which were no such phrases of speech.

9 That she procured not the Bull : That shee onely saw the coppie thereof printed, and when shee had read
it

it over, that shee burned it.

10 That if any in for-
raine Regions write or name
her otherwise than they
ought to doe, let them an-
swer for it.

11 That shee never by
letters required aid of the
Pope, and the King of
Spaine, to invade Eng-
land, but onely to bee resto-
red into her Kingdome by
their meanes, and that with
the Queenes privitie.

12 But if any question
or doubt bee made of those
letters of effecting the mar-
riage by force of armes, shee
requested

requested (since shee was borne of the royall bloud of England) that shee might answer personally in the next Parliament that was to be holden.

And at this time the French King favouring the Queene of Scotland and her partie (and the Queene of England the King and his partie) earnestly moved Queen ELIZABETH to deliver the Queene of Scotland, which the Queene of England denied to doe, saying, In very truth I keepe the Queene of Scotland in custodie (after a faire manner) as a pledge of mine owne securitie, and of the safetie of England. But when it was come to light that the Queene of Scotland intended a seeret confederacie with the King of Spaine, by the Lord Seton, who landing in Essex, disguised like a Mariner, had promised

promised aid of men to the *Scots*, of the *Queenes* partie from *Albi*; both shee was kept straiter in prison, and the kindnesse of the *French* men toward her waxed key-cold.

Shortly after, the league betwene *England* and *France* being concluded at *Blois*, and the Duke of *Memorancie* being sent into *England* to confirme the same; hee in few words in his Masters name, requested that as much favour might bee shewed unto the *Queene of Scotland* as might bee without danger: That there might be a cessation of armes in *Scotland*, and that concord might bee established there by Parliament. Hee was answered, That more favour was shewed to the *Queene of Scotland* than she deserved, and should bee shewed for the *French Kings* sake; although the *Estates of the Kingdome* (who where now assembled) thought the *Queene* could be in no security without some severitie shewed unto her. As for the cessation of
armes,

armes, the Queene had dealt diligently therein ; and for that purpose had sent very lately *Drurie* the Marshall of *Burwick*, with *Crocas* the French Embassidour ; and that they by no perswasions could bring *Grange* and the Garrisons in the Castle of *Edenburgh* to peace, being induced by hope of aid from *France* and the Low-Countries, though *Huntley*, and *Hamilton Arbrot* for the Duke his father, had bound themselves under their hands to observe peace ; and the others of the Queenes side had given their word also.

Anno 1573.

IN Scotland, *James Douglas Earle of Mownton*, by the meanes of Queene ELIZABETH, was made Regent in the place of the Earle of *Murre*, who having his authoritie established in the Parliament,

ment, did enact in the Kings name certaine Lawes, against the Papists, and against Heretickes ; but the custodie of the King hee confirmed to *Alexander Areskin*, for that the Earle of *Marre* (unto whom the custodie of the King of *Scotland* in his minority doth belong by a peculiar right) was under age, upon these conditions, that is to wit, That the Papists and they of the other faction should be utterly excluded ; an Earle might come in with two men, a Baron with one man, other men alone, and every one of these unarmed.

And whereas *Queene ELIZABETH* by *Henry Kulligrew*, had drawne *James Hamilton* Duke of *Chastauleroy*, *George Gordon* Earle of *Huntley*, who stood for the *Queene*, to these conditions, namely, To acknowledge the Religion established in *Scotland* : To submit themselves to the King, and also to *Morton* as his Regent, and to his successours in the government:
To

To renounce the authoritie of all others: To account them Traitors by authoritie of Parliament, that attempted any thing against the Religion, the King or Regent: That the sentence against the *Hamiltons* and the *Gordons* should bee repealed, &c. But these conditions *William Kircaldy* Lord of *Grange*, the Lord *Hume*, *Lidington*, and the Bishop of *Dunkeld*, and others, who thought the *Queene of Scotland* to be injuriously used, would upon no termes admit; but fortified the Castle of *Edenburgh*, of which *Grange* was Captaine (placed therein by *Murrey*) looking for aid from *France* and the Duke of *Alba*; but Sir *William Drury* being sent into *Scotland* with forces out of *England* to joyne with the *Sexts*, the same Castle was yeelded in the three and thirtieth day of the siege, and so the Castle and all the prisoners were delivered unto the Regent, who hanged *Kircaldy* without mercie, spared *Hume* and others at the

the request of *Queene ELIZABETH*; *Lidington* was sent to *Lietb*, where he died, not without suspicion of poison.

And to the end that *England* might also bee more secure from clandestine attempts at home (on the behalfe of the *Queene of Scotland*) *Iohn Lest* Bishop of *Rosse*, who very faithfully had served his *Queene* (yet with the destruction of many men, and danger of more) was delivered out of prison, and commanded to depart out of *England*, and went into *France*, fearing *Southampton*, whom by his appeaching hee had brought in danger, and also *Henry Howard* the Duke of *Norfolkes* brother; to mollifie whose anger, he wrote an Apologie. Hee was scarce departed, but his secret Letter-carrier *Henry Cockin* was taken, and by him was *Morgan* detected, who prompt to doe some exploit for the *Queene of Scotland*, and desirous to have done somewhat, forthwith fled away. *Ac-*

ſloe the Phyſitian for the Papiſts, and *Goſd*, Doctors of Phyſicke, and *Francis Berty*, becauſe they had ſecret commerce of letters with her, were put certaine moneths in priſon. And for the ſame cauſe *Henry Goodyer*, and *Richard Londer* were called into queſtion.

In the meane while *Roffe* did not pretermitt any part or duty of a moſt faithfull ſubject to the Queene of *Scotland*, towards the Emperour, the Pope, the *French King*, and the Catholike Princes of *Germany*, who every one gave good words and hopes, but yet performed nothing. And alſo the Duke of *Alb.*, in whom he put his greateſt truſt, did at this time depart out of the Low-Countries, to his great grieve.

Anno 1574.

HEnry the third of that name,
King of *France*, and his mother

ther did all that they could by secret devices to get the young King of *Scotland* into *France*, and to get *Mourton* out of his office of Regent, sending secretly *Scots* out of the *French* Guard for this purpose into *Scotland*; which thing the *Queene of Scotland* desired much, being perswaded, that if her sonne were in *France* out of danger, that shee and the Papists in *England* should be dealt withall more mildly: For hereupon shee thought it would come to passe, that the faction in *Scotland*, hitherto countenanced by the authoritie of the Kings name, would decay and come to nothing; and that the *English* men would feare him more and more, as he grew up in yecres, as well from *France* as out of *Scotland*. And as much did the *French* men wish the same; secretly fearing lest the Regent of *Scotland* depending wholly on the *English*, should dissolve the ancient league betweene the *Scots* and the *French*. Yet when the Regent

gent earnestly requested that a league of mutuall defence between *England* and *Scotland* might bee made, hee was not heard; perhaps for that hee requested withall, that an annuall pension might bee assigned unto him, and unto certaine other *Scots*. But they were heard, who with a smal suspicion touched the *Queene of Scotland*, the Countesse & Earle also of *Shrewsburie*, as though they had wrought a marriage betweene *Charles* Uncle unto the King of *Scotland* (unto whom the King had lately in the Parliament confirmed the Earledome of *Lennox*) and *Elizabeth Candish* daughter to the Countesse of *Shrewsbury* by her former husband, without the *Queenes* knowledge: For which cause the mothers of both them and others were kept in prison, and all the fault was laid upon the *Queene of Scotland*. And when sundry suspicions grew of the intent and purpose of this marriage, *Henry* Earle of *Huntingdon* was made Lord President

sident of the Councell in the North, with new and secret instructions concerning this matter.

Anno 1575.

THis yeare died in *Scotland* the most Noble Lord *James Hamilton* Duke of *Chastauleroy*, and Earle of *Arran*, who was the Grand-childes sonne of *James* the second King of *Scotland*, by his daughter, the Tutor of *Queene MARIE* of *Scotland*, and Governour of the Kingdome, and heir designed, while she was in her minoritie. At such time as he had delivered her unto the *French* men, he was made Duke of *Chastauleroy* in *France*; then chiefe of the three Governours of *Scotland* appointed by *MARIE* in her captivitie. Whose cause while he defended most constantly, he being a plaine and well-meaning man, was vexed with all manner of politick & crafty devices
by

by turbulent and unquiet minded people.

Anno 1577.

D*On Iohn d' Austria* had made a perpetuall edict at *Gant*, to give satisfaction to the Estates of the *Netherlands* for their aggrivances; which the Prince of *Orange* utterly condemning, opportunely heard, that *Don Iohn* intended to marrie the *Queene of Scotland*; on which he willingly laid hold, and forthwith certified *Queene ELIZABETH* thereof by *Famier*, thereby to withdraw her minde from peace: yet shee, as one ignorant thereof, by *Daniel Rogers* shewed her gladnesse of the perpetuall edict of peace, though now she had certaine knowledge, that *Don Iohn* by the perswasion of the Earle of *Westmerland* and the *English* fugitives, and forward favour of the Pope

Pope and the *Guises*, had in hope swallowed that marriage, and with all the Kingdomes of *England* and *Scotland*; and had already appointed to surprize the Ile of *Man* in the *Irish* Sea, as a fit place to invade *England* out of *Ireland*, and the West borders of *Scotland*, wherein the *Queene of Scotland* had many assured friends; as also in the opposite side of *England*, *North-wales*, *Cumberland*, *Lancashire* and *Cheeshire*, where most of the inhabitants were earnest *Papists*.

But indeed *Don John* (as we have learned of *Perez* Secretarie to the King of *Spaine*) before now ambitiously minded, when hee had lost the hope of the Kingdome of *Tunise*, had dealt covertly with the Pope about the expulsion of *Queene ELIZABETH*, the marrying of the *Queene of Scotland*, and the conquest of *England*; & unknowne to *Phillip*, had prevailed so far, that the Pope as out of the care of the common good, moved *Phi-*

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lip to make war against England; and Don John himselfe being to depart into the Low-Countries, had prosecuted it earnestly in Spaine; and afterwards by Escobedo, sent out of the Netherlands, hee had desired to have some Haven in Biscay granted unto him, from whence hee might invade England with a Navie: But Philip disliked their intentions, and began to neglect him, as one over-ambitious.

Yet Queene Elizabeth understood not these things fully until Orange informed her.

In the meane time Don John covertly prosecuted the marriage, and at the same time, to cloake the matter, sent unto Queene Elizabeth the Viscount of Gant, to shew her the conditions of the peace, and to request longer daies of payment for the money lent unto the Estates: which shee willingly granted, and dealt with him againe by Wisson, to recompence the Merchants of England, for the hurt sustained

stained in the sacking of *Antwerpe*.
 Hee eludeth the matter, & whiles he
 seemed to attend about the *Perpe-*
tual edict for peace, he brake out sud-
 denly into open war, and by policy
 gat into his hands many Cities and
 Castles; and wrote unto the King
 of *Spaine*, that hee thought it best
 to subdue and conquer the Islands
 of *Zeland* before the Inland Provin-
 ces: and beleeving that which hee
 hoped, endeoured to perswade
 him by his Secretaries, that *England*
 was easier to be conquered than
Zeland.

Anno 1578.

A Botc this time *Margaret Dou-*
glas Countesse of *Lennox*,
 Neece to *Henry* the eighth by his
 eldest sister, widow of *Archibald*
 Earle of *Lennox*; Grandmother un-
 te *James* King of Great Britaine, o-
 verliving her eight children, depar-
 ted to the joyes of heaven, in the

threescore and third yeere of her age, and was buried at *Westminster* with a solemne funerall, at the *Queenes* charge: a Matron of worthy pietie, patience and chastitie, who was thrice cast into prison (as I have heard her speake it) not for matter of treason, but for love matters: First, when *Thomas Howard* son to *Thomas Howard* first Duke of *Norfolke* (being in love with her) died in the Tower; then for the love of *Henry Daryl* her son, to the *Queene Mary* of *Scotland*; lastly, for the love of *Charles* her younger son, to *Elizabeth Cardish* mother to *Arbella*, of which marriage the *Queene of Scotland* was accused to be a procurer, as I have said before.

About the same time the credit and authoritie of *Mourton* began to decay; insomuch, that hee was removed from his office of Regent, and the administration of all things delivered unto the King, by the common consent of the Estates, and (because hee was not past twelve years

years old) unto twelve of the chiefe Noblemen which were named, of whom three, every three moneths by turnes, should bee present with the King, to give him advice, and *Mourton* was one of them, that they might seeme to bring him lower, not to cast him downe.

Shortly after, *Mourton* trusting on his sharpe wit, long experience, and many dependants and retainers, thinking nothing well done, except hee himselfe did it, and also not brooking not to bee the same man hee had beene, drew backe all the administration unto himselfe, not regarding his associates, and not observing the consent of administration set downe, hee kept in his hand the King within the Castle of *Sterling*, and shut out and excluded whom he pleased, and admitted others at his owne choyce. Wherewith the Noblemen being moved, made the Earle of *Arboll* their Captaine, and made Proclamation in the Kings name, that all

men above sixteene, and under threescore yeeres, should meet in Armour, with victuals for fiftene daies. There met very many, and with Banners displayed they marched unto *Parkirk*, where *Morton* with his friends met them in Armour ready to fight: But *Robert Bowser* the *Englishe* Embassador, by intreatie, and moving honest conditions, kept them from fighting; and *Morton* forthwith, as wearie of businesse, went home secretly, and the Earle of *Arbott* died incontinently, not without suspicion of poison; which the mindes incensed against *Morton*, tooke to his slander, and for this and other things, they never ceased to persecute him, untill they had brought him to his destruction, as wee will declare hereafter.

Anno

Anno 1579.

THe Scots were in feare of ha-
ving their Religion altered by
a French man called *Andrieu* or *Es-*
peris Stoperet, who came at this
time into Scotland, to see the King
his Cousin; (for hee was the son of
John Stewart, brother unto *Adam* the
Earle of Lennox, who was the Kings
Grand-father, and called *Antiquary*
of a Towne in Berry, which long
sint *Charles* the seventh, King of
France, had given to *John Stewart*
of the familie of Lennox, who being
Constable of the Scottis Armie in
France, put the English men to flight
at *Bugny*, and was afterwards slaine
by them in the Battell of *Herrings*;
and ever since that time it hath be-
longed unto the younger sonne of
that house.) This man the King
used with singular kindnesse, gave
him good livings, made him of his

privie Councell, and Lord Chamberlaine of *Scotland*, and Captaine of the Castle of *Dunbritton*, and then Earle of *Lennox*, and after Duke. This extraordinarie favour of the King towards him, caused many to envie him; who murmured that he was a favourer of the *Guises*, and of the *Roman Religion*, and sent purposely into *Scotland*, by secret meanes to overthrow the true Religion. The suspicion was much increased, in that hee was familiar with the adversaries of *Marston*, and intreated to have *Thomas Carr* of *Ferniburst* recalled home, who was the most assured friend to the *Queene of Scotland* of all others; *Marston* resisting the same with all his power, but in vaine, for his authoritie was lesse and lesse with all men; although it might seeme that he deserved well, in profligating the *Hamiltons*, and taking the Castle of *Hamilton* and *Duffraine*.

Anno

Anno 1580.

IN *Scotland* when many Ministers of the Word, and Noblemen perceived that *Lennox* was in the Kings high favour; first, they raised one *James Stewart* of the family of *Ochiltree*, Captaine of the Guard, and Earle of *Arran* (for hee had usurped that title from I know not what cession of *James Hamilton* Earle of *Arran*, whose Tutor hee had beene when he was not well in his wit) to affront him: but the King in a short time reconciled them. When this way served not their turne, they procured him as much hatred as they could at home, and accused him hainously unto the *Queene* of *England*, as one sent in covertly by the *Catholikes*, to shake the state of Religion, to procure the libertie of the imprisoned *Queene*, and to dissolve the amity

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betweene *England* and *Scotland*. These men were soone beleevd, and upon this matter was kept a serious consultation in *England*; though hee in his letters cleered himselfe to the *Queene*, and openly professed the Protestants Religion.

For the Councillors of *England* feared, lest hee should suppress the *Scots* who were friends to *England*, nourish excursions in the borders, and entice the King to marry in *France*, or in some other place, unknown to the *English* men; whereupon the young King trusting, might trouble *England*, and being grown to mature yeers, assume to himselfe the title of the Realme of *England*, as his mother had done before; which if he should do, there would be more danger in him, than was in his mother, since hee was borne to the certaine hope of both the Kingdomes, hee might get many moe fautors; and now the *Scots* being bred up in their wars at home,

and

and in the Low-Countries, were more exercised and skilfull in martiall affaires. Hereupon they thought good to wring *Lennox* out of the Kings favour, by one meanes or other, or else to drive him out of *Scotland*, and that without delay; since it was bruted abroad, that hee had sent for one *Balsore* out of *France* (who had gotten I know not what hand-writing of *Adonitions*, wherein it was hoped, that *Adoniton* might be convinced of the murder of the Kings father.) and also that hee had obtained the Captainship of the Castle of *Dunbritton*, for no other purpose, but either to let in forraine forces into *Britaine*, or else to carrie over from thence the King of *Scotland* into *France*. It was reported also, that hee perswaded the King to resigne his *Crowne* up to his mother, as if shee had beene deprived unjustly, and by a most impious example or president by her subjects accepting assurance, to take it from her by a lawfull

lawfull resignation; whereby hee should most strongly confirme his Kingdome to him, and extinguishing the factions thereby, bee acknowledged of all men for a lawfull King.

Hereupon *Robert Bowes*, Treasurer for the Garrison at *Burnwicke*, was sent into *Scotland*, who should challenge and charge *Lennox* with those things before the King and his Councillors, and admonish them to beware of their imminent evils. As soone as he was admitted to speake, he required to have *Lennox* removed from the Councell, which the Councillors utterly denied, as a thing strange and never heard of, that a Kings Councillor should be put out of his place, and his cause not heard or not knowne. They doubted also, whether the Queen did expressly command him so to do, and required him to shew his instructions to maintaine his credit. Hee denied to shew them, but onely to the King, and unto

one or two more ; whereupon hee was unheard, forthwith called home, and tooke leave of the King, who thought of no such matter, complaining that the whole admonishments of his Ladie the Queen (who deserved well at their hands) were rejected.

Immediately upon this was sent from Scotland *Alexander Hume* to excuse these things, and to learne what these imminent evils were ; but hee was not admitted unto the Queen, but was sent to *Burleigh*, who with a brieve and discreet speech shewed him, That the Queen thought not good to admit him to her speech, not that shee did neglect him, whom shee had tried to be sound in Religion, and as in carefull for the good of his Prince, Countrie, and the tranquillitie of both the Realmes, but out of a just grief, that her Majesty and the credit of her Embassadour was so contumaciously used, who had kept himself within the compasse and bounds of his Embassade, & had been commanded to shew his commission

commission (which was a thing never heard of.) He cast all the fault upon the new Councillors, and excused the King, who wanted experience through his young yeeres, and wished that he would give eare unto the wholesome and profitable advices of the Queene, who bare a true motherly minde unto him, and not to make lesse account of her, than he did of his French Cousin, and a subject to the French King, matched with a French woman, and a Papist in Religion; and who perhaps doth seeke (the Hamiltons being at this time banished) to bee designed second person to the King: And said, let the King remember, that there is no affection more vehement than ambition; and let the Scots remember what broiles the French men had made in Scotland, if the Queene by her prudence and power had not prevented them.

So Hume was sent backe into Scotland, and all these things were done of purpose to put the King in feare, and to make him beleeve, that Lermox had undertaken dangerous plots

plots and devices against the King and the Realme. Yet for all this, shortly after, *Mourton* who was wholly for *England*, was accused of treason by the Earle of *Arran*, and cast into prison.

Anno 1581.

Hereupon in the beginning of January, Sir *Thomas Randolph* generall post-master, was sent into *Scotland*, with instructions to conserve the Religion and amity with the Englishmen, and to labour all he could, that no violence should be offered unto *Mourton*, to remove *Lennox* away out of *Scotland*, and to comfort the Noblemen of the English faction. He made diligent and earnest intreatie for *Mourton*, alleging his merits towards the King, the honour of *Queene ELIZABETH*, if thee so well deserving should have a repulse, and the envy of

of his accusers. The King answered; That hee could not out of his Princely dutie, but bring to trial a man appeached of treason; and that he acknowledged by experience the Queenes good will, and that hee would not commit any thing that might justly displease her by any means.

After *Randolph* was admitted to speake in the assembly of the Estates, recounting the benefits of *Queene ELIZABETH* towards *Scotland*, and the King himselfe, to wit; How shee had delivered the Realme from the French men, with the blood of English men, defended their Religion and King, and yet never thought to convey him away (as it was falsely reported) or to obtaine an acre of Scottish ground; when yet shee had opportunitie and meanes to conquer *Scotland*, the King being in his Cradle, his mother prisoner in England, and the Noblemen at dissention. But on the other side, she hath bestowed all her care to preserve in safetie the King and his Realme.

Realme, who was tied unto her with the
 most strait bonds of bloud, vicinitie
 and Religion : whose love shee found
 most sincere towards her, as shee had
 done all the Regents successively before
 that Aubigney Earle of Lennox came
 into Scotland. Since that time hee
 hath ruled the King as a Ward, hath a-
 verted his minde from the friendship of
 the English men unto the French men,
 who have not hitherto so much as ac-
 knowledged him for King, hath put out
 of their offices the most faithfull subjects
 of the King, and hath put in others not
 so faithfull, and hath by his letters
 (which he shewed) dealt with forraine
 Princes about the invading of En-
 gland. Hee hath moved the King to
 hate and abhorre the Ministers of Gods
 Word, as if they were railers and turbu-
 lent people, and hath had no care of the
 administration of justice betweene the
 borderers : All which things Queene
 E L I Z A B E T H could not but take in
 very evill part, when she saw a Prince of
 such vertue, and her neereſt Cousin, ali-
 enated and drawne forcibly away by these
 bad

bad devices. Yet nothing was then effected, either to helpe *Mourton*, or against *Lennox*, who most men thought was falsly charged with the crimes; and also that the letters which were shewed, were counterfeit.

Therefore *Randolph* attempted another politicke way: Hee unto the adversaries of *Lennox*, and unto the friends of *Mourton*, deplored the unfortunate estate of *Scotland*, and laieth before them the dangers hanging over the heads of the King, the Common-wealth, and themselves; he complaineth that the intercession of the *Queene of England* is not regarded of the unthankfull people, and covertly adviseth them to trie whether they can effect that by armes, which they cannot obtaine by other meanes, and promised them helpe of men and money out of *England*. And so he drew to his side the Earles of *Argile*, *Montros*, *Angus*, (*Mourtons* brothers sonne) *Marre*, *Glen-*
carne,

carne, Ruthen, Lynsfey, and others. But they by and by after, their ends and purposes being severall, when they saw the King wholly to bend his favour towards *Lennox*, and not to bee terrified with the English forces which were on the borders, against which hee had opposed his, the most of them disagreeing & reverencing royall Majesty even in a young man, durst attempt nothing against *Lennox*, and thought it enough if they took compassion on *Adourton*. Yet *Angus* and *Marre* secretly devised plots for *Adourton*, and against *Lennox*; of which when the King had knowledge by *Wittingham*, *Angus* was commanded to depart, and live beyond the River of *Spey*; and *Marre* was commanded to deliver the Castle of *Sterling* unto the King. *Randolph* doubting some danger to himselfe, slipped secretly away to *Earwicke*, and willed *Angus* & *Marre* (things going against them) to looke to themselves, either by recovering
the

the Kings favour, or else by resorting unto the protection of the Queene of *England*. But the English forces were now called backe from the borders ; and not long after, *Mourton* (as privy unto the murder of the Kings father) was beheaded, being first found guiltie of the same. For he had confessed, as they say, That *Bothwell* and *Archibald Douglas* did communicate unto him their intent and purpose to kill the King, and that hee durst not reveale the same in such a doubtfull world as that was : neither could hee deny (after the murder was committed) but that *Archibald Douglas* one of the Murderers was one of his most inward friends; and that he gave his faith and word under his hand, to defend *Bothwell*, if any man accused him for murdering of the King. *Angus* and the other, who stood in defence of *Mourton*, fled into *England*.

Anno 1582.

QUEENE ELIZABETH, that shee might be more secure at home, purposed to make a composition with the *Queene of Scotland* by *Walter Mildmay*; but finding out that the *Guise* was devising some secret practices with some English fugitives, and to gather forces together, under pretence to send them into the Low-Countries, to serve under the Duke of *Anjou*, but indeed to be transported into *England*, from *Ewe* an obscure part in *Normandy*, belonging unto him, the matter was put off untill another time, and shee was not regarded.

But about the same time *William Rusten* (whom the King had lately created Earle of *Gowry*) not degenerating from his father, who bare a deadly hatred against the Kings mother,

mother, and other conspirators devised to remove *Lennox* and the Earle of *Arran* from the King, under the pretence to assure Religion, the Kings safetie, and amitie of *England*, whereunto they were incensed and whetted on by their Ministers. So when *Lennox* was departed from *Perth*, where the King lay, unto *Edenburgh*, about some affaires of the Realme, and *Arran* also was absent; *Gowry*, *Marre*, *Lyndsey*, and others, taking the opportunitye, invited the King unto the Castle of *Ruthen*, where they detained him against his will, and would not permit him to ride or walke into the fields, threatening him with death. They put from him all his faithfull servants, cast the Earle of *Arran* into prison, and compelled the King to call home the Earle of *Angus*, who was banished; the *Queene of England* (who was of their counsell) making intercession for him; and to send back *Lennox* into *France*, who being

being a man of a milde nature, gave over the Castle of *Dunbarton*, which he might easily have defended, (by the perswasion of the King set on by them) and refused not to returne into *France*. But they not content herewith, enforced the King against his will, to approve this his surprize in letters to the *Queene of England*, and to pronounce the assembly of the Estates, summoned and called by them, to be lawfull.

When the French King heard this for a certaintie, he dispatched *Maisnelan* by *England*, and *Manningill* by Sea, with one and the same instructions into *Scotland*, to wit, That they should take some order by one meanes or other to set the King free; and confirme the faction of *France*, to assure and win the Kings minde unto the friendship of the *French*, and as joyfull newes signifie unto him, that the *Queene* his mother out of her motherly piete, did grant and bestow upon

upon him the title of King, and admit him very willingly now into the fellowship of the Kingdome, to the end that he might be taken and acknowledged as a true and lawfull King by all Christian Princes, and all the *Seits*; and thereby the division and partaking of factions wholly taken away.

Shee in the meane time being vexed and troubled in minde, oppressed with miseries, and pining away with the calamitie of her long lasting imprisonment, without any hope of libertie; in her long letters written in *French* (which her motherly love and anxietie of minde extorted from her) deplored unto Queene ELIZABETH her grievous and hard fortunes, and the most distressed estate of her sonne, to this effect; for I will, one of the originall written with her owne hand, abbreviate them.

When I heard for certaintie, that my son was taken and surprized by Rebels

(as I my selfe was certaine yeeres agoe)
out of a just feare lest he should fall into
the same and like unfortunate estate that
I am in, I cannot but pourre out my
mournfull complaints, and engrave the
same (if it may be) in thy conscience,
that my innocency may evidently appeare
unto posteritie; and also their ignomi-
nie and shame, by whose iniquitie I am
cast into these miseries. But since the
policies and cunning reaches of these
persons (though wicked and lewd) have
hitherto prevailed more with thee, than
my just complaints; let the right and
justice now yeeld and give place unto thy
power, and let force oppresse the truth
with men, I will appeale unto the im-
mortal God, whom alone I acknowledge to
be superior of us Princes of equall right
and honour. And I will call upon the
same God (with whom gloses and de-
ceits are not regarded, and will not pre-
vaile) that at the last day he will reward
us true as we deserve each to other, how-
soever my adversaries have skill to cloak
their crueltie and deceitfull policies with
men (and peradventure also with thee.)

In his name therefore, and as it were before his judgement-seat, I present unto thy mind, by what policies some spies, using thy name, drew the Scots my subjects to rebell against me, at such time as I lived in Scotland; and set on foot all the evils which have happened there from that day to this. Which thing (not to speake of other matters) is most evident and apparant, by testimonies openly shewed, and the confession of MORTONS owne mouth, who was for that cause advanced unto honour; against whom, if I had dealt by course of Law, and then hadst not given aid unto the Rebels, they could never have stood out so long against me and my friends.

While I was detained in prison in Lochlevin, Nicholas Throgmorton perswaded me in thy name, by sealing Letters Patents, to resigne my Kingdome (which he affirmed would be void, and indeed all the world accounted it void) untill thou by thy favour, countenance and forces, didst give aid unto the beginners and procurers of these Letters Patents.

Parents. And tell me in good faith, whether thou dost acknowledge thy subjects to have any such authoritie over thee. And yet from thenceforth was my royall authoritie taken away from mee by thy counsell and helpe, and my Kingdome transferred unto my son, uncapable thereof by reason of his tender yeres. And when I not long since, determined to confirme the Kingdome unto him in a lawfull manner, hee was taken away by force, by divers Traitors, who questionlesse have an intent to deprive him of his Kingdome, as they did me, if not to take away his life also. After I escaped out of Lochlevin, and was now ready to fight and encounter with the Rebels, I implored thy aid, sending backe that Diamond which beforetime I had received from thee, as a token and pledge of thy love, with a large promise of aid against the Rebels; not once nor twice also giving thy fidelitie, that if I retired and came my selfe unto thee for succour, thou wouldest come in person unto the borders, and give me aid. And I trusting upon thy promise freely offered, (al-
N 2 though

though thy servants had oftentimes deceived me) resolved to flee for helpe unto thee, as to my last assured Anchor, in my adversitie, and so had I done, if the way had beene as open and easie for mee, as it was for them that rebelled against me. But before I could come unto thee, I was intercepted, guarded with keepers, shut up into strong places, and from that time untill this, endured evils more grievous than death.

I know thou wilt object against me, the dealings that were betwixt the Duke of Norfolke and me; yet I doe still deny, that they were any wrong or hurt to thee, or to thy Realme, for they were allowed by the chiefe Councellors of the Realme of England, and confirmed with their subscriptions; who also promised assuredly to obtaine thy consent. And how (I pray you) could such great men promise thy consent unto that should deprive thee of thy life, honour and Diadem? But yet thou wilt have all men to beleve this.

But when many of those Rebels did repent, though late, and saw more plainly

plainly by the conference at Torke, betweene our Commissioners, how unjustly they dealt with me; they were forthwith besieged by thy forces in the Castle of Edenburgh; and of the principall men, one (Lidington) was poisoned, and the other (Orange) in lamentable manner hanged. And this, after that by thy request, I had caused them once or twice to lay downe their armes upon a hope of peace, which God knoweth whether my adversaries ever imagined to keepe.

From that time I was resolved to try whether I could mollifie rigor by patience, in suffering whatsoeuer they imposed on me a prisoner; yet I was utterly barred from all conference with my sonne by letters or messengers, for this whole yeere past, that the sonne might bee disjoined by this most lamentable disjunction from the mother, if it might be.

I have oftentimes set downe and proposed conditions of a peace and concord to be made betweene us, as at Chartilworth eleven yeeres since, with the Commissioners, and with thy selfe by

the Embassadors of the most Christian King, and by mine owne: I dealt also sincerely with Beale the last winter; but those conditions were alwayes rejected, and delays made and interposed, my advices and counsells were suspected, and all the motions of my sincere minde condemned and disallowed. Neither did I reape any other fruit of my long-lasting patience, than that it grew to a fained custome for mee to bee more rigorously used every day than other; not as a prisoner, but even as a Kitchen-maid. Assuredly I cannot endure these things any longer, and hap what hap will, if I die, I will make the procurers and causes of my death to bee knowne: but if I live, I shall finde meanes, I hope, that all these wicked attempts and slanderous calumnizations against mee, shall die, that I may spend the rest of my life in more tranquillitie.

Wherefore to take away all displeasure and hatred betweene us, let the testimonies of the Spaniards, who were lately taken in Ireland, bee shewed, let the examinations of the Jesuits be produced,

duced, let any body have free libertie to
accuse mee publikely ; yet so, that in
like manner I may have libertie to defend
my selfe, and that I bee not condemned
unheard. Malefactors and persons of
the basest sort and condition are admit-
ted to speake and defend themselves ;
and their accusers are brought before
their face. Why am not I so used and
dealt withall, who am a Queene an-
nointed, and thy next Cousin, and the
lawfull heire of the Crowne after thee ?
But this last thing is the matter which
chiefly vexeth and stingeth my adver-
saries, which studie to keepe us still ene-
mies, and at contention. Alas, there is
no cause why this should vex them. I
take God to witnesse, and upon mine
honour, I have thought of no other
Kingdome this long time, but onely the
Celestiall Kingdome. Yet thou art
bound in conscience, and tyed both by
dutie and justice, not to trouble or crosse
the most assured right of my sonne after
my death, nor to further their secret
combinations, who as well in England
as in Scotland, doe apply all their wit

and power to worke the destruction of me and my sonne, which is evident and apparent by the instructions, of thy messengers in Scotland, who used and behaved themselves most seditiously (doublelesse without thy knowledge) but Huntingdon being wonderfull eager and diligent therein.

Is this just and right, that I a mother shall be forbidden, not onely to give counsell and advice to my oppressed son, but also to understand in what distressed estate he is? If they had beene sent for my sonnes good, perhaps if they had taken mine advice with them, they should have beene for that cause the more welcome unto him. Verily thou hadst bound and tied mee unto thee more strictly, and thou hadst no cause so much to conceale their going thither, or to take away at that very time from mee all my libertie: Yet that I may speake freely; I desire thee not to use such Agents any more in the Scottissh affaires: For although I bekeve that Cary (Hunsdon) will not doe or take any thing in hand, which may bee a blemish to himselfe or his honour,

nour, yet I cannot hope of any good to come from Huntingdon, for his evill deserts towards mee.

Therefore I earnestly request thee, by the most nere alliance of blood that is betwene us, that thou wouldest seriously have regard to the safetie of my son, and not to intermeddle any more with the affaires of Scotland; without the privitie of mee, or the French King; and that thou wouldest account them, who by force keepe my son in prison (and compell him to doe what they list) none other but Traitors. Moreover, I heartily request thee, by the Crosse and Passion of Christ our Redemour; That I being (upon honest and reasonable conditions) restored to libertie, may somewhat recomfort my languishing body, for the small time of my life that remaineth (in some place out of England) after this long-lasting and loathsome imprisonment. In so doing thou shalt forever bind mee and my friends, and especially my son unto thee. Which I will never cease with importunate request to demand at thy hands, untill thou dost

yeeld and consent therunto. My body diseased and subject to infirmities, compelleth mee to be so earnest. I pray thee therefore cause me to be used with more humanitie, otherwise I cannot endure it. I tell thee in plaine termes: And praest mee not over to be used at the pleasure of any other, but at thy disposition. Whatsoever good or evill things happen unto mee hereafter, I will attribute and ascribe them onely to thy selfe. Shew mee this favour, that I may understand thy pleasure from thy selfe by a letter, bee it never so short, or by the French Embassidour. It cannot be satisfied in those things which Shrewsburie doth signifie unto me, forasmuch as they may every day be altered. When I very lately wrote unto thy Councillors, thou didst command that I should acquaint thee onely with my affaires (but it was not just to give them so great authoritie to afflict and vex mee) yet I cannot but feare, that many of them that be my deadly adversaries have procured this, lest therest, after they shall have heard my most just complaint, should oppose themselves, as well.

well in respect of thy honour, as of their
dutie to thee. Now resteth my most in-
stant and importunate suit, that I thin-
king onely of the life to come, may have
some reverend Catholike Priest, to direct
me in my Religion, for the salvation of
my soule. This last office is not to be
denied unto poore wretches of the basest
and meanest estate. Thou dost permit
unto the Embassadors of forraigne Prin-
ces, the exercise of their Religion, & I vo-
luntarily permitted it to my subjects that
were of a contrary Religion. If this be
denied unto mee, I hope I shall bee ex-
cused before God. But I feare mine ad-
versaries shall not escape without pu-
nishment. Assuredly it will bee a presi-
dent unto other Princes of Christen-
dome, to shew the like severitie against
their subjects that bee in Religion con-
trarie unto them, if this severitie be used
towards mee a free and absolute Prin-
cesse, and thy nearest Cousin, for so I
am, and will be so to thee whiles I live,
in spite of mine adversaries, let them sto-
macke it never so much. I desire not to
have my familie increased, but I request

to have onely two maids, which are necessary and needfull to mee in this my weaknesse and sicknesse of body. And let not my adversaries fulfill their cruell mindes altogether against me, in barring me of so small a curtesie. Whereas I am secretly accused by Shrewsburie, that I have privily and without by knowledge practised to transferre my right in Scotland unto my son, contrary to my promise made unto Beale: I desire thee not to give credit unto the suggestions of Beale, I promised nothing but under certaine conditions, to which I am not bound, except they bee performed by thee. From that time hitherto, I have received no answer; and there is not a word spoken of them; but yet the practises in Scotland to destroy mee and my sonne, have not ceased. That long-lasting silence I cannot interpret to be any other thing but a plaine repulse and deniall; and so I signified by my letters to thee, and to thy Councillors; those things which the French King and his mother imparted unto mee; I also sincerely imparted unto thee, and as-

ked

ked thy advice in them, but I heard not a word from thee againe. I never had so much as a thought to submit my selfe unto thy Councell about mine affaires and my Cowitrey, before I knew what it should be ; for it might seeme a meere folly so to doe. How my adversaries in Scotland doe triumph over mee and my imprisoned son, thou art not ignorant ; I attempted nothing there that may bee hurtfull unto thee, but onely to procure a firme peace in that Kingdome, which is more to be respected by me, than by thy Councellors : forasmuch as I have more interest therein than they. I earnestly and from my heart desired to bestow and confirme unto my son the title of a King, and therewithall to burie in the earth all discords and dissentions. Is not this to pull the Diadem from my sonnes head ? But indeed mine adversaries would not have it confirmed unto my family. This is the thing they envy, when their conscience beareth witnesse against them ; and being guiltie of evil, they feare mischief will befall them.

But not these and other mine ad-
versaries

saies so blinde thine eyes, and in thy life
 and sight procure the death of thy next
 kindred, and bring to confusion both the
 Crownes; for to that intent doe they in-
 vent mischief against mee, against my
 son, and perhaps thy selfe also. Can it
 be any good or honour unto thee, that I
 and my son should bee secluded by their
 meanes and practises, and wee two be-
 tweene our selves so long? Remember thy
 inbred lenitie, binde thy selfe unto thy
 selfe; and being as thou art a Princeesse,
 by thy placabilitie mollifie thy minde,
 and abandon all displeasure and hatred
 towards me a Princeesse, thy nearest Cous-
 sin, and one that loveth thee most deere-
 ly; that all our affaires being lovingly
 compounded betwene us, I may depart
 out of this life, and the sobs and sighs of
 my distressed soule may not penetrate
 unto God; unto whose heavenly Maje-
 stie I offer my continuall prayers, that
 my just complaints and dolorous lamen-
 tations may now at the last finde way
 unto thee. From Sheffield the eighth
 day of November, 1582.

Vostre tresdeolee plus prachie
 parente

parente & affectionate seure, MARY R.

Anno 1583.

With these letters *Queene* ELIZABETH was wonderfully moved and disquieted, and sent unto the *Queene of Scotland*, Robert Beale, one of the Clerkes of the Councell, a man rude and uncivill; who should in sharpe words expostulate with her for her letters of complaint, and also jointly with the Earle of *Shrewsburie*, to talke about her deliverance; forasmuch as shee had of late in other letters requested *Queene* ELIZABETH that she might after this time (upon securitie to bee given to *Queene* ELIZABETH) enjoy her liberty, and bee joyned with her son in the government of *Scotland*.

About this matter was a serious consultation among the Councell

of

of England, and most of them were content that shee should be deliuered upon these conditions : To wit,

1 That shee and her son should promise to practise nothing hurtfull to Queene ELIZABETH and the Realme of England.

2 That shee should voluntarily confesse, that whatsoever was done by Francis the second, the French King her husband, against Queene ELIZABETH, was done against her will; and that she should utterly disallow the same as unjust, by confirming the treatie

treatie of Edenburgh.

3 That shee should condemne all the practises ever since that time, and ingenuously renounce them.

4 Shee should binde her selfe not to practise any thing directly or indirectly against the government of the Realme of England, in Ecclesiasticall or Civill affaires ; but by all manner of meanes oppose her selfe and resist such practisers as publike enemies.

5 That shee shall challenge or claime no right unto her selfe in the Kingdome
of

of England, during the life of *Queene ELIZABETH*; and that afterward shee will submit her right of succession unto the *Estates of England*.

6 And to the end shee may not hereafter use any cavill, and say; That shee condescended to these conditions (being a prisoner and by coaction) shee her selfe should not only sweare unto them, but also procure the *Estates of Scotland* to confirme them by publike authoritie.

7 The King himselfe
also

also should ratifie them by oath, and by writing.

8 And that hostages should be given.

As for the consociation with her sonne, in the administration of affaires, it was thought fit that the *Queene of England* should not interpose her selfe; but this they referred to the King of *Scotland* himselfe, and the Estates of *Scotland*. But if they were joyned together, that they should talke about the league with them joyntly, if not, by themselves.

These things were consulted of, but with no successe; For the *Scots* of the *English* faction utterly rejected them, crying amaine, that many *Scots*, deadly enemies to the *English* Nation, were called out of *France* by the Councell of the *Queene of Scotland*: And that *Hob* an *English* Jesuit was sent secretly into

into Scotland, to take order for the invading of England.

The French Embassadors, which went into Scotland, not obtaining that they came for, departed; whereupon the Noblemen that had surprized the King, grew haughty in minde, as also for that *Lennox* died at that time, which putting them into securitie, the King contrary to their expectation, disdainning to bee under the government of three Earles, recovered his libertie, and went to the Castle of Saint *Andrewes*; and with good words willed many of the surprisers to depart from the Court, to avoid any stirre, and promised them pardon, if they would aske it within a certaine time (which thing *Gowry* only did) and called *Arran* back to the Court, but they were so far off from doing of that, as they secretly practised to take him suddenly againe. Hereupon they were commanded to depart out of the Realm by a day appointed; *Marie, Glamis,*
the

the Commendators of *Dryburg*, and *Pasler*, and others, went into *Ireland*, *Boyd*, *Zester-Weim*, *Loebkvin*, went into the *Low-Countries*, and *Dunfermellin* went into *France*: *Angus* was confined into *Angui*, only *Gowry* having a new plot in his head, tarried after the time prefixed, to his owne destruction.

And then the King to shew himselfe a Prince, began to exercise his Regall authoritie. And whereas these Conspirators in an assembly called by their owne private authority, had enacted and recorded, That this surprize of the King was just; he on the contrary part declared, in a great assembly of the Estates, that the same was traitorous; Although the Ministers (as if they were the supreme Judges in the Realme) in a Synod called by their owne authority, pronounced the same to be just, and judged all them that did not approve and allow the same, worthy to bee excommunicate.

Anno 1584.

IN the beginning of the Spring, some of the Scots returned out of *Ireland*, upon a pact made betweene them and *Gowry*, who had conspired anew with divers, to take the King againe; professing that they set before their eyes nothing else but the glorie of God, the truth of Religion, the securitie of the King and Realme, and the amitie with *Englond*, against them who by sinister meanes (as they gave out) abused the King, not yet come unto sufficient age. But the King hearing hereof, sent Colonell *Stewart* to apprehend *Gowry*, who lay at the Haven of *Dundee*, as if hee had beene going out of the land; who after hee had defended himselfe an houre or two in his house, was taken and carried away unto prison.

In the meane time the other
Conspirators

Conspirators tooke *Sterling* by sudden surprize, and the Castle was yielded unto them; yet by and by they leave them both, because the King displayed his banners, as ready to fight, not so many met, as Gowry had promised, and their hope of *English* helpe failed them, and so for feare, *Morre*, *Glamis* and *Angus*, who was come to them, and others fled into *England*, humbly beseeching the *Queene* to releve their necessities, and to intreat the King for them: Forasmuch as they had lost all their goods and the Kings favour, for shewing their love to her and *England*, unto whom they thought good to shew some favor, that they might be opposed against the contrarie faction in *Scotland*, and the rather for that the Ministers bruted, that the King was upon the point to fall from his Religion, upon no other ground (though they fained other matters) but for that he upon a filiall love inclined to his mother,
and

and received into his especiall fa-
vour and grace those whom hee
knew to bee most addicted unto his
mother.

In the meane time Gowry was ar-
raigned before his Peeres at *Ster-
ling*, upon these points : That hee
intended and began a new conspi-
racie against the King, whom hee
had also kept prisoner in his house
beforetime : That hee conferred by
night with the servants of *Angus*,
to seize upon *Perth* and *Sterling* :
That he had resisted the Kings au-
thoritie at *Dundee* ; had conceived a
conspiracie against the life of the
King, and his mother. Lastly, that
hee had asked counsell of *Maslina*
the Witch : and being found guilty
by his Peeres, hee was in the eve-
ning beheaded ; but his servants
sowing the head unto the body, bur-
ied it incontinently.

About the same time were some
practices in *England* ; but with no
successe, in the behalf of the Queen
of *Scotland* ; of which the chiefest

was

was *Francis Throgmorton* eldest son to *John Throgmorton* Justice of *Chester*; who fell into suspicion out of his letters unto the *Queen of Scotland*, which were intercepted. As soone as hee was taken, and began to confesse some things, *Thomas Lord Paget*, and *Charles Arundel* a Courtier, fled out of the land into *France*, who with other Papists, lamenting their estate among themselves, complained, that the *Queen* by the wicked and craftie dealings of *Leicester* and *Walsingham*, was estranged from them: That they were abused with contumelies and reproaches: That strange kinds of subtilty were invented against them: That secret snares were so cunningly laid, that whether they would or no, they should be brought within the compasse of treason; and that they had no hope of safetie at home. And to say the truth, very craftie trickes and devices were devised and used to trie mens minds; counterfeited letters under the names

of the *Queene of Scotland* and the fugitives covertly sent and left in the houses of Papists, spies dispersed in every place, to hearken after rumours, and to take advantage of words : bringers of tales, whatsoever information they brought, were received and entertained; very many examined upon suspicion, and amongst them, *Henry Earle of Northumberland*, and his sonne *Philip Earle of Arundel* commanded to keepe his house, and his wife delivered unto the keeping of *Thomas Sherley* ; *William Howard*, brother to the Earle, and *Henry Howard* their Uncle, brother unto the Duke of *Norfolke*, oftentimes examined concerning letters from the *Queene of Scotland*, from *Charles Paget*, &c. who escaped very narrowly for all his prudence and innocencie.

The Lord *Paget* and *Charles Arundel* being arrived in *France*, were watched and observed by *Edward Stafford* the *Queenes* Lieger Embassadour with the French King ;
but

but yet he could not finde out their purposes and practices. Yet dealt hee with the French King, that they, *Morgan* and other Englishmen, plotting against their Prince and Countie, might bee removed out of France. Hee was answered, If they practised any thing in France, that the King would punish them according to the Law; that the King could not take knowledge and doe justice on them if they had plotted any thing in England. That all Kingdomes are free unto them that flie thither for succour, that it behooveth all Kings, every one to defend and maintaine the liberties of his Kingdome, and that *Queene ELIZABETH* not long since had received into her Kingdome, *Montgomery*, the Prince of Condee, and other Frenchmen, and that at this very time the Embassador of the King of Navarre practising some plots, lieth in England.

About such time as these things were done, *Bernardino de Mendoza*, Embassadour for the King of Spain in England, passed in great secrecie

into *France*, fretting and fuming as if he had been driven violently out of *England*, and the right of an Embassador thereby violated, when he himselfe being a man of a violent and turbulent spirit, abusing the sacred right of Embassade unto treason, was to be pursued (as many were of opinion) after the ancient manner of severitie, with fire and sword, and commanded to depart out of the Kingdome; for hee medled and was accessary with the wicked plots of *Throgmorton* and others, to bring in forraine power into *England*, and to dispossesse the Queene. And when he was mildly reproved of those things, hee was so far from wiping the objections away with a modest answer, that he re-charged againe the Queene and her Councillors with their detention of the money of the *Genowayes*, with the succours given unto the Estates of the *Netherlands*, and unto the Duke of *Anjou*, and unto *Don Antonio* the Portugall,
and

and with the piracies and spoiles made by *Drake*.

Yet lest the King of *Spaine* should thinke that the lewd parts of *Mendoza* were not revenged, but the right of an Embassadour violated, *William Waad* Clerke of the Councell is sent into *Spaine*, who should plainly informe him how badly hee had discharged the office of an Embassadour, and withall should signifie (lest the Queene in sending him away might seeme to renounce the ancient amitie betweene the Kingdomes) that all kinde and friendly offices should be done on her part, if hee sent any other as his Embassadour, who was desirous and willing to conserve the amitie betweene them; conditionally that the same curtesies might be shewne unto her Embassadour in *Spaine*. But when the King of *Spaine* would not vouchsafe to admit *Waad* unto his speech, but referred him to his Councellours, hee taking it in evill part, without

fear spake openly, that it was a most usuall & received custome, that Embassadors should be admitted to the presence of Princes, even by their enemies, and in the time of the hottest warres: And that *Charles* the fifth the Emperour, father to the King of *Spaine*, admitted to his presence the Herald, who from the French King denounced warre against him, and in plaine termes denied to acquaint the Councellors with his errand. And when *Idiaques* Secretary to the King of *Spaine*, could by no policie get out of him what his message was, at last hee received all the matter from *Adendoza* lurking secretly in *France*. Then hee laying aside his publike person, in familiar manner signified unto *Waad*, that hee was very sorry that there were some who cunningly laboured to breake the amitie, and to nourish discord between the Princes; that wrong was done to the Catholike King himselfe, not unto his Embassadors, first, to
Desper,

Despes, and now unto *Mendoza*, and that there was no cause why hee should accuse unto the King any more *Mendoza*, who was sufficiently disgraced by his ignominious sending out of *England*; or complaine that hee was not admitted: And that the Catholike King did no more but like for like; since *Mendoza* had beene dismissed without audience; and as she had referred *Mendoza* unto her Councillors, so the King in like manner put him off unto the Cardinall *Granvellan*. When *Waad* answered; that there was much difference betweene him who had never offended the Catholike King, and *Mendoza* who had offended grievously against the *Queene*, and had a long time not vouchsafed to come unto her, and had committed things unfitting an Embassidour: Yet he could not be admitted; and not being heard, he returned home. The most of the crimes which hee was to object against *Mendoza*, were taken out of

the confession of *Throgmorton* : who heing ready to be apprehended, had secretly sent a deske (wherein his secrets lay) unto *Mendoza*. His other deske being narrowly searched, there were found two Rolls or Lists, in one of the which the names of the Havens of *England* which were fit to land Forces, in the other the names of the Noblemen and Gentlemen of *England* who professed the *Romane Catholike Religion*, were written down. As soone as hee saw them brought out and shewne to him, hee cried out often that hee never saw them before, and that they were foisted in to worke his destruction, yea even when hee was examined upon the racke : but laid againe upon the racke, he denied not to answer unto their Interrogatories. Being asked of those Rolls or Catalogues, and for what purpose they were written, hee made this historicall narration : That hee a few yeeres since going unto the waters at the *Spaw*, did consult

consult and devise with Jenev and Fra. Inglefield how England might be invaded, and the forme of government thereof altered and changed, and upon that reason that hee set downe the names of the *Havens* and of the *Noblemen*. That *Morgan* by his letters had signified unto him out of France, that the *Catholike Princes* had now consulted and determined that England should bee invaded, and the *Queene of Scotland* delivered under the conduct of *Guise* as *Generall*, who wanted nothing but money and some bands of men in England to joyne with him to his helpe. To procure these things, that *Charles Paget* under the counterfet name of *Mope*, was sent secretly into *Suffex*, where the *Duke of Guise* determined to land his *Armit*. That he acquainted *Mendoza*, who had notice and knowledge of these things already by the *Conspirators*, with the matter, and told him the names of the *Havens* and *Noblemen*. Neither did he denie that he promised his furtherance, and withall to have admonished *Mendoza* with what *Noblemen* hee being a publike person should

should treat of this matter, which be being a private man could not doe without great danger : and that he shewed a way to him how some principall Catholikes as soone as the forraine Forces were landed, might levy souldiers in the Quenes name, and then to joine them to the forraine Forces. These things hee voluntarily confessed.

Yet at the Barre in the Guildhall of London, being accused of these things, hee precisely denied every one of these things, and averred that they were meere devices of his owne head, to avoid the torment of the rack again ; and openly accused the Queene of cruelty, and the examiners of falshood, devising an escapatory or starting-hole by the space of time which was betweene the fault committed and the judgement. Forasmuch as in the thirteenth yeere of Queene ELIZABETH certain things were made treasons, for the which none should be arraigned except the delinquent were indited within fix moneths after,

after the fault committed, and the crime was proved by the testimonie and oath of two men, or by the voluntary confession of the offender, without violence; and that this time was expired long since, and that therefore hee was not to be arraigned for the same. But the Judges told him that the crimes objected unto him, were not of that kinde, but that he was liable to the Law by an ancient law of treason made in the time of King *Edward* the third, which admitteth no circumscription of time or prooffe, and that by that law the sentence of death was pronounced against him. Being afterward perswaded, he fled unto the mercy of the *Queene*, and againe confessed in a writing more fully, all things which hee had said before; which things, not persevering in his words, he began to deny againe at the gallowes, but in vaine.

M. Ward being returned out of *Spaine*, was sent to the *Queene* of Scotland,

Scotland, about a treatie to bee had betweene her and Sir *Walter Mildmay*, which was propounded two yeeres since, and interrupted, as is said before, unto whom she affirmed with great protestations, with what sinceritie she hath dealt about this treatie, and withall, devoteth herselfe and all her labour unto the *Queene*, and promiseth to depend wholly on her, if onely she would vouchsafe her so much love and honour. Moreover, shee firmly promised, so that the treatie might go forward, that she would intercede, yea, and bring to passe that her son should receive *Angus* and the other Noblemen of *Scotland* into favour; and also that the Bishops of *Rosse* and *Glasgow*, her Agents and Ministers in *France*, should not plot any thing against the *Queene* and Kingdome of *England*, and that shee would have nothing to doe with the Rebels or Fugitives of *England*.

QUEENE ELIZABETH was
glad

glad to heare these things, and whereas that *Angus, Marre, I. Hamilton,* and *Glammys* were fled into *England*, and making use of the opportunitie offered, sent *Beale* unto the *Queene of Scotland*, who together with the *Earle of Shrewsburie*, should shew her, that if shee continued in the same minde with which shee had acquainted *Master Ward*, that *Mildmay* should come forthwith unto her, and treat with her about her libertie, and then should talke with her in the meane while to intreat her sonne the King to restore the *Scottish Fugitives*, and to tell her that they had committed no fault against the King, but against some violent Councillors who gave him evill counsell; and lastly, that as much as they could they should get out of her the practices of the *Guises*. Shee being a wise woman, answered; *That shee much desired that the treatie might go forward, and that shee requested earnestly of* *Queene ELIZABETH* of

of her eldest sister, unto whom she gave all honour. That shee had propounded nothing unto Master Waad, but upon condition, and that he whom she thought to be an honest man would not say otherwise. For the restoring of the Scots, that her labour therein would bee very necessarie, and should not be wanting if shee certainly knew any good would redound to her selfe and her sonne; so that they would humbly submit themselves unto the King, and bee obedient unto him; but if that were not done, that then the Queene should give aid unto her sonne, that they might bee reduced unto their obedience. Moreover, shee doth not cloake nor hide it, that she when shee was sickly, committed her selfe and her sonne unto the care and trust of the Guise her most deare Cousin, of whose purposes or intents shee knew nothing, neither would shee discover them if shee knew them, unlesse a firme assurance were given her of her libertie; for that it was the part of an unadvised person to forsake her assured friends, for an uncertaine hope. She requested that she
being

being an absolute Prince, might bee no more dishonourably used, than Queene MARIE did sometime deale with herselfe, being at that time her subject, and imprisoned; or than the French King did use the King of Navarre, being also his subject, and bore armes against him. She also requested that the treatie might be brought to an end before any in Scotland were sent Embassadour about that matter. And for that the French King had acknowledged her ordinarie Embassadour, and Seton sent by her son into France, as Embassadours from Princes of the same authoritie and conjoyned, shee gave that honour to the Queene, to publish this Association of her and her sonne in Scotland, and besought her not to prejudice the same. These things were heard, but by terrors objected, shifted off and deluded by the meanes of them who knew how to nourish the hatred betweene the women that bore no inward good will one to the other, especially by the discoverie of the papers which Chreydon a Scottishe Jesuit

suite sailing into *Scotland*, and intercepted by some Sea-rovers of *Holland*, tore in peeces : but the torne papers cast out of the ship, were cast againe into the ship by a contrary winde, not without a miracle, (as *Creycton* himselfe said) and glewed together by the great labour and singular skill of *Waad*, laid open and discovered new plots of the Pope, of the King of *Spaine*, and the *Guisers*, about the invading of *England*.

Therefore to occurre unto and prevent the wicked counsels and secret policies of seditious persons, and to provide for the Queens safetie, upon the which both the Kingdome and Religion depended : Many men (*Leicester* being the beginner) of all estates in *England*, out of common charitie, whilst they feared not her, but were fearfull of the other, bound themselves in a certaine Association, with their mutuall oathes, subscriptions and seales, to persecute with all their forces

forces unto death, them who did attempt any thing against the Queene.

The Queene of Scotland, who quickly understood that a way was made by it to make her away, wearie of her long miserie, and fearing worse things, propounded these things to the Queene and her Councillors, by Name her Secretarie: If her libertie might be granted, and that she might be assured of the sincere minde and love of *Queene ELIZABETH*, that shee would binde herselfe in a most strict league of amitie with the *Queene*, most detestfully honour and observe her before all other Christian Princes, forget all offences past, acknowledge her the true and most rightfull *Queene of England*, and that shee would not challenge during her life any right unto the Crowne of England, nor practise any thing against her directly or indirectly; and utterly to renounce the title and arms of England, which she had used by the commendement of Francis her husband; and also unto the Bull of the
Pope

Pope about her deposition and deprivation : Yea and also enter into that Association, for the securitie of the Queene ; and into a defensive league (saving the ancient league between France and Scotland) yet so that nothing bee done in the life of the Queene, or after her death, which may be hurtfull unto her, her son, and their heires in succession, before they be heard in the Assembly of the Estates of England. For more assurance of these things, that shee will remaine as an hostage in England, and if shee may have leave to depart out of England, that shee will give pledges. Moreover, that shee will alter nothing in Scotland, so that the exercise of her religion bee permitted onely to her and her familie. That shee will for ever forget all the wrongs done her in Scotland, (but yet under that condition, that the things published to her dishonour may bee repealed.) That shee will commend unto the King Councillors which were desirous to keepe peace with England ; and would reconcile unto him as much as lay in her the Noblemen that were fled into England.

England, if they would humbly acknowledge their fault, and that the *Queene* gave her word to give aid unto the King against them, if at any time they fell or departed from their obedience. That shee would doe nothing about her sons marriage, without the privy of the *Queene*; and that she would not do any thing without the privitie of her son: so she requested that her son might bee joyned in this treatie, whereby it may bee made more strong. Shee doubted not but that the King of France would bee contented, and binde himselfe by promise together with the Princes of the house of Lorraine, for the performance of these agreements. Shee also desired that these things might bee answered with speed, lest any thing might happen in the mean while to hinder it. Lastly, shee earnestly desired, that shee might have the favour to have more libertie, that therein the love of the *Queene* might appeare more evidently to her.

Out of these things, as matters of much honour and dutie, *Queen*

ELIZABETH

ELIZABETH seemed to rejoyce; and it was then thought shee was inclined to deliver her, although there were some in *England* who setting new feares before her eyes, drew her from it. But the matter being well followed, and in a manner concluded, was most of all hindered by the *Scots* of the contrarie faction, who exclaimed that Queen ELIZABETH was utterly undone, if shee were delivered out of prison; and both the Realmes would be undone, if shee were joyned with her sonne in the Kingdom of *Scotland*; and if the exercise of the *Romane Religion* were permitted unto her, if it were but in her Court.

And some of the *Scottish Ministers* in *Scotland*, out of their Pulpits, and in their meetings, railed most vilely against their Queene: they spoke ill of the King and his Councillors, and being commanded to appeare in person, obstinately and contemptuously denied so

so to doe, as if the Pulpits were exempted from the Kings authoritie, and that Ecclesiasticall persons were not subject to the King, but to the Presbyterie; directly against the lawes made this yeere in the Assemblie of the States, in the which the Kings authoritie over all persons, both Ecclesiasticall and Laicks, was confirmed for ever : viz. That the King and his Councillors are competent Judges in all causes ; and they who would not obey the same, are to be accounted for Traitors. The assemblies of Presbyteries (as also those of Laicks) as well generall as particular, were prohibited, as having arrogated without the Kings privitie, boundlesse authoritie, and when they list of meeting together, and of prescribing lawes unto the King and unto all the Realme. And also the popular equalitie of Ministers were abrogated, and the dignitie and jurisdiction were restored unto the Bishops, whose vocation the Presbyteries had

had condemned as Antichristian. And the slanderous writings against the King, his mother, and Councillors, were forbidden, and by name the Historie of *George Buchanan*, and his Dialogue, *De jure regni apud Scotos*, as those which containe many things fit to be corrected and blotted out of memorie. And also many men blamed *Patricke Grey* the *Scottish* Embassadour in *England*, as if hee (won by bribes) had babbled out much matter to the hurt of the King and his mother, and had hindred that these most equall conditions proponned from the Kings mother, and sent by *Navus*, were not admitted.

Whereupon she having her patience oftentimes wronged, fell into a grievous sorrow and indignation, and so great was her desire of libertie, that she gave her minde and cares as well unto the treacherous counsell of her enemies, as unto the pernicious devices of her friends:

friends : And so much the more, for that as shee had perswaded her selfe that the *Assaciation* was made to endanger her life ; so now shee had an inkling that by the policie of some men she was to be taken away from the keeping of the Earle of *Shrewsburie*, (who being an upright man, did not favour their plots) and to bee committed unto new keepers. And that it might be done with a better colour, and the credit of the Earle of *Shrewsburie*, which was approved and well knowne, might not seeme to bee suspected, (for it was not thought good to call in question the reputation of so great a man, which yet they had cracked by secret slanders, upon the finding fault of his unreasonable wife) suspicions were laid hold on, as if the plot of getting her libertie had beene begun, out of certaine Emblemes sent by some unto her. Those were, *Argus* with many eyes, lulled asleepe by *Mercury* playing tunes on his pipe, with this little

little sentence, *Eloquium tot lumina clausit*. Another was *Mercury* striking off the head of *Argus* keeping *Io*. A graft or cyon engrafted in a stocke and bound with bands, yet flourishing, and written about it, *Per Vincula cresco*. Another was a Palme tree much laden, but rising againe, with these words; *Ponderibus Virtus innata resistit*. Also an Anagram, *Veritas armata*, out of her name, *MARIA STUARTA*, the letters being transposed, which was taken in the worse part. Moreover, there were letters shewne as if they had been intercepted, in the which the friends of the Queene complained that all their hope was quite cut off, if she was but put into the custodie of the Paritanes. Under this colour shee was taken from *Shrewsburie*, and committed to the custodie of *Amias Paulet* and *Dreugh Drury*, and that of purpose (as some thinke) that being driven into desperation, shee might bee more apt to take abrupt counsells, and

and more easie to bee intrapped. For *Shrewsburie* in all that fifteene yeeres, had so providently kept her, that there was no place left of plots from her or against her. And now also shee dealt more earnestly with the *Pope* and the King of *Spaine*, by *Francis Inglefield*, to hasten that which was begun, and that with all expedition, whatsoever became of her. And *Leicester* (who was thought to study how to deceive the right owner of the succession) secretly sent ruffians (as many said) to murder her. But *Drury* an honest minded and upright man, detested the wickednesse from his heart, and suffered them not to have any accessse unto her. Yet some spies secretly crept in, and there were closely sent as well counterfeite as true letters, by which her womanish weaknesse might be thrust forward to her destruction, as we will say hereafter.

And to turne quite away the love of *Queene ELIZABETH* from
P her,

her, it was whispered in her eares, that *Allan* for the Catholikes Ecclesiasticks of *England*, and *Inglefield* for the Laicks, and the Bishop of *Rosse* for the Queene of *Scotland*, with common consent, and with the consent of the Pope and the King of *Spaine*, had decreed that Queene *ELIZABETH* was to be deposed from her Crowne, and the King of *Scotland* was to be disinherited of the kingdome of *England* as manifest and open Heretiques; the Queene of *Scotland* to be married to some Catholique Nobleman of *England*, hee to be chosen King of *England* by the *English* Catholikes, and the election to be confirmed by the Pope: The lawfull children of this man by the Queene of *Scotland*, to be declared successors in the Kingdome. And all these things upon the credit of *Hart* a Priest. But who this *Englishman* should be, *Walsingham* made diligent inquiry, but he found not who he was. But the suspicion fell upon

upon *Henry Howard* brother to the D. of *Norfolke*, who was of the chiefe Nobility, a single man, and an earnest Roman Catholike, and amongst them of great reputation and account.

Anno 1585.

IN the beginning of this yeare was a Parliament holden at *Westminster*, where the aforementioned Association was confirmed by the common consent of both the houses. And it was enacted, that foure and twenty or more of the Privy Counsell and Nobility of the land chosen by the *Queenes* letters Patents, might inquire of them, who shall invade the Realme, raise rebellion or attempt to hurt or kill the *Queenes* person for any whosoever, or by them whosoever, who may challenge right unto the crowne of England. But he for whom or by whom they shall attempt, shall bee made inter-

by incapable of the Crowne of England, and shall be utterly deprived of all rights thereunto, and shall bee pursued even unto death by all the subjects if he shall be judged, and publickely declared by those foure and twenty men to be privy to such an Invasion, rebellion or hurt.

There were also acts made against Priests and Iesuits to this effect; That they should depart out of the Realme within X L. daies. That for them who from thenceforth came into the Realme and staid, it should be treason.

That they who knowing them to bee such, doe relieve, receive or helpe them, should be felons (so they call all capitall offences under treason.)

That they who are brought up in the Seminaries, if within six moneths after proclamation made they doe not returne, and doe not make submission unto the Queene, before the Bishop, or two Iustices of peace, shall be guilty of treason.

But they who shall submit themselves, if within ten yeeres they come unto the Court,

Court, or neerer it than ten miles, their submission shall be void.

They whosoever shall send any money by any manuer of meanes, unto the Students in the Seminaries, shall incurre a *Premunire* (that is, perpetuall imprisonment and losse of all their goods.)

If any of the Peeres of the land, that is to say, Dukes, Marquesses, Earles, Barons, Lords of the Parliament, shall offend against these lawes, hee shall be tried by his Peeres.

They who shall know any such Iesuits and others, to lye hid in the Realme, and shall not discover them within twelve daies, shall bee fined at the *Queenes* pleasure and put into prison.

If any man be suspected to be a Iesuit or Priest, and doe not submit himselfe unto examination, for his contempt hee shall bee imprisoned untill he do submit himselfe.

He that shall send his children or any others unto the Seminaries and Colleges of the Roman profession, shal lose and forfeit a hundred pounds of English money.

And they who are sent, shall not succeed in their beritages, nor enjoy the goods that may fall unto them by any manner of meanes.

And so shall they also who within a yeare after they retorne home from the Seminaries, except they doe conforme themselves unto the Church of England.

If the keepers of havens permit others beside Sakers, Mariners, and Merchants, to passe over the Sea, without the Queenes licence, or six of her Counsellors, shall lose their places, and the Masters of the ship who shall carry them out shall lose and forfeit their ships and goods, and be imprisoned a whole yeere.

With the severity of these lawes, the Roman Catholikes in England were very much terrified, and amongst them Philip Howard Earle of Arundell, eldest sonne unto the Duke of Norfolk, inso much that hee determined to depart out of the Land, lest he should offend against them. This man by the benignity
of

of the Queene was restored in
blond three yeers before this time,
and a little after he fell out of the
Queenes fauour and grace, by the
secret infimulation of some great
Courtiers, had secretly reconciled
himselſe unto the Romane religi-
on, and used a very austere life.
Hereupon he was once or twice cal-
led before the Counsell, and clea-
red himselſe of the objections laid
to his charge, but yet he was com-
manded to keepe his house. After
six moneths more or lesse he was
discharged, and came to the Par-
lament; yet the first day when the
Sermon was preached, he stole co-
vertly out of the company. The
Parlament being ended, as being
resolved to depart away out of the
Land, in his letters written unto
the Queene, which yet he com-
manded to be delivered after hee
was gone over, he made a long and
lamentable complaint of the envie of
his mighty adversaries, unto which hee
was forced to yeeld, forasmuch as they

triumphed over his innocency, hee repeateth the unfortunate deaths of his Ancestors, that is to say, of his great grandfather, who was condemned and never called to tryall, of his grandfather, who was beheaded for trifling matters, and of his Father, who, as hee affirmed, was circumvented by his enemies, and who never carried any evil mind toward his Prince or Countrey. But that hee, lest hee should runne into the same hard fortune his father had, forsooke his countrey (that he might spend his time in the service of God, and in the workes tending to the salvation of his soule) but not his loyalty and fidelity toward his Prince. Before these letters were delivered, he went into Suffex, and being ready to take ship in an obscure creeke, was taken and apprehended by the treachery of his servants, and discovery of the master of the ship, and committed unto the Tower of London.

At that time there was prisoner in the same place Henry Percy Earle of Northumberland, a man of a live-

ly spirit and courage (brother of *Thomas* beheaded at Yorke) suspected to be privy unto the plot of *Throgmorton*, the Lord *Paget* and the *Guises*, for the invading of *England*, and delivering of the *Queene Scotland*, unto whom alwaies hee had borne a great love and affection. In the moneth of Iune he was found dead in his bed, shot thorow with three bullets about the left pappe, the doores being bolted on the inside. The *Crowners* quests according to the custome, taken out of the next neighbours and sworne by the *Crowner*, viewing the body, considering the place, having found the pistoll, with the gunpowder in the chamber, his man who bought the Pistoll, and the seller thereof, being examined, gave their verdict, that the Earle did murther himselfe. The third day after, the Noblemen of the Realme came in great number, and met in the Starre chamber, where *Thomas Bromly* Lord Chauncellor

of England succinctly declared, that the Earle had plotted and devised treason against his Queene and Countrey, which being now to come unto light, and to be discovered, upon the guiltinesse of his conscience had murdered himselfe. But that the multitude and common people, who alwaies consider things to the worst, might bee satisfied, he commanded the Kings Atturney, and the Kings Counsell at law, to deliver and explaine at large the causes why the Earle was kept and detained in prison, and the manner of his death. Hereupon Papham the Queenes Atturney Generall, beginning at the rebellion in the North, sheweth out of the Records, That hee was arraigned for this Rebellion, and for purposing to deliver the Queene of Scotland, did then acknowledge his fault, and submitted himselfe unto the mercy of the Queene, and that hee was fined at five thousand marks (as I have said before) and that the Queene, such was her clemencie,

cie, tooke not a penny, but remitted the same, and that after the execution of his brother for the same fault, she confirmed him in the honour of Earle of Northumberland. That hee nevertheless entered into new practices to deliver the *Queene* of Scotland, to conquer England, and to kill the *Queene*, and to destroy Religion: That Mendoza the Spanishe Embassador had signified unto Throgmorton, that Charles Paget, under the name of Mope had talked with him of these things secretly in *Sussex*: That the Lord Paget had insinuated the same things almost unto Throgmorton, and that the same things were evident and apparent by the papers of Chreycton the Scottishe Iesuite, and that Charles Paget had told these things unto William Shelley when hee returned out of France.

Then Egerton the *Queenes* Solliciter, argued wittily out of the circumstances and the great care taken of concealing it, that the Earle was guilty of, and privy to these things, that

that is to say, For that the Earle
 since that none in England could
 charge him with these things, but the
 Lord Paget, who was very familiar
 with Throgmorton, a few daies after
 the taking and apprehension of Throg-
 morton, made a ship ready for Paget
 by Shelley, in which he passed over in-
 to France. When Throgmorton be-
 gan to confesse some things, hee depar-
 ted from London and went out of the
 way unto Petworth, and signified unto
 Shelley whom hee had sent for unto
 him, that hee was fallen into great dan-
 ger of his life, and of his estate, and re-
 quested him to conecale the businesse,
 and to send any them who were ac-
 quainted with the departure of the Lord
 Paget, and with the comming of
 Charles Paget, which was done forth-
 with. And he himselfe sent a good way
 off, the man whom hee had used about
 Charles Paget. Moreover the Solli-
 citor said, that he being now in prison,
 dealt oftentimes with Shelley (by the
 Keepers whom hee corrupted) to know
 what things, and of what nature he had

confessed. After that Shelley by a poore woman a secret messenger betweene them, had certified him that hee could not conceale matters any longer, that their condition and estate were not like, that hee should be put on the racke, but that the Earle could not, in respect of his place and degree, and had written those things which he had confessed, the Earle sighed grievously, and sometimes said, as Panton who waited on him in his chamber confessed, that by the confession of Shelley hee was utterly undone.

Then the manner and reason of his death is declared, out of the testimony of the Enquest, of the Lieutenant of the Tower, of some of the Warders, and of Panton, and thereupon it was gathered, that hee, for feare lest his house and family should be utterly destroyed, and a blemish and blot imposed thereon, had laid his owne violent hands upon himselfe. Truly many honest men, as well for that they favour Nobility, as also for that he was holden
and

and reputed a man of very great valour, were heartily sorrie that such a man came to such a lamentable and wretched death. What things the suspecting fugitives talked in corners of one *Ballive*, one of *Hattons* men, who a little before was made Keeper unto the Earle, I omit as a thing of small credit, neither meane I to set down any thing out of idle reports.

Anno 1586.

IN this yeere *Philip* Earle of *Arundell*, who had laine now a whole yeare in prison, was accused in the Starre Chamber, That he had relieved Priests against the Lawes, that he had had commerce of letters with *Allan*, and *Parsons* the *Jesuite*, enemies of the *Queene*, and that hee had deputed in writing from the *Iustice* of the *Land*, and imagined to depart out of the *Land*.

kind without licence. Hee professing his duty and service unto the Queene, and his love and good will unto his countrey, excused himselfe with great modesty, by the love he had to the Catholike Religion, and by his ignorance of the lawes, and submitted himselfe unto the censure and judgement of the Lords, who fined him at tenn thousand pounds, and to be imprisoned during the *Queenes* pleasure.

In the moneth of Iuly a most pernicious conspiracie against *Queene ELIZABETH* was found out and came to light, which I will briefly describe.

At Easter, this yeare, *Iohn Ballard* a Priest of the Seminarie of *Remes*, who had visited many Roman Catholikes in *England* and *Scotland*, returned into *France*, accompanied with *Mamd* one of *Walsingham*s spies, a most craftie dissembler, who had bleared his eyes; and talked with *Bernardino*
Men-

Mendoza, at that time ordinary Embassadour of the King of *Spaine* in *France*, and with *Charles Paget* a man exceedingly addicted to the *Queene of Scotland*, about the invading of *England*, saying that now was a most fit time, all the military men being absent in the Low-Countries: and that they could not hope for a fitter time, since that the Pope, the King of *Spaine*, *Gnise* and *Parma*, were determined to set upon *England*, by that way to turne the warre out of the Low-Countries. And though *Paget* held it cleere, that it would be in vaine as long as the *Queene* lived, yet *Ballard* was sent backe into *England*, being sworne to procure aid and helpe unto the Invaders, and liberty unto the *Queene of Scotland*, and that with all speed, and as soone as he could.

At Whitsonside following this *Ballard* apparelled like a souldier, and called by a counterfeit name, *Captaine Foscu*, arrived in *England*, and

and talked at *London* about these things with *Anthony Babington* of *Detwicke* in *Derbeshire*, a young man well borne, rich, of an excellent wit, and learned above his yeeres, who being addicted to the Roman Religion, had a little before stolen over into *France*, without any licence, and had beene very familiar with *Thomas Morgan*, one that belonged unto the *Queene* of *Scotland*, and with the Bishop of *Glasco* her Embassador, which two in extolling continually the heroicall vertues of such a *Queene*, had shewed such ceraine hopes of great honours and preferments by her, of which the ambitious young man quickly tooke hold: they also commended him, thinking of no such matter in their letters to the *Queen* of *Scotland*. For when he was returned into *England*, shee curiously saluted him by her letters, and from that time *Morgan* used to send over, and to convey letters unto her by his meanes, untill such time

time as she was put over to be kept by *Amyas Panlet*. For then the young man seeing the danger, left off: With this *Babington*, I say, did *Ballard* deale about this matter. He was fully perswaded that the Invasion of *England* would come to nothing so long as *Queene ELIZABETH* lived. But when *Ballard* had insinuated that shee should not live long, that *Savage* who had taken an oath to kill her, was already come into *England*; *Babington* did not like that so great a matter should be committed only to *Savage*, lest hee should faile in his attempt, but rather to fix stout Gentlemen, whereof he would have *Savage* to be one, lest hee should breake his oath: and *Babington* devised a new way to have the land invaded by strangers, of the havens where they should take land, of the aid that should be joyned to them, how to deliver the *Queene of Scotland*, and to kill the *Queene*.

Whiles

Whiles he studied earnestly about this matter, he received by a boy unknowne, letters in a character or ziffre familiar between the *Queene of Scotland* and him, which mildly accused him for his long silence, and bade him to send with speed a packet of letters sent from *Morgan*, and delivered by the Secretary of the *French* Embassador: which thing hee did, and withall by the same messenger wrote letters unto her wherein he excused his silence, for that he was deprived of meanes and opportunitys to send, from the time that she was put into the custody of *Amyas Paulet* a Puritane, a meere *Leycestrian*, and a professed enemy of the *Catholike* faith (for so hee called him) Hee opened unto her, what he had conferred with *Ballard*, and told her that six Gentlemen were selected to execute the tragickall murder: and that hee with a hundred other, would deliver her at the same time. Hee besought her, that rewards might be propounded, and given unto the keroickall actors in
this

this businesse, or to their posterity, if they failed or died in the action. Unto these letters answer was made the 27 of Iuly, the forward care of Babington toward the Catholike Religion, and her selfe, is commended, but hee was advised to proceed in the businesse warily, and that an Association might be made amongst them, as though they feared the Puritans, and that no stirre should be made before they were certaine and assured of forraine helpe and forces, that some tumult might be raised also in Ireland whilst a blow or wound might be given in these parts, Arundell and his brethren, and Northumberland, might be drawne into their side, Westmorland, Paget, and some others secretly called home. And the way also of delivering her is prescribed, either by overthrowing a Cart in the gate, or by burning the stables, or by intercepting her selfe when shee rode up and downe in the fields, for her recreation betweene Chartley and Stafford. Lastly, Babington is commanded to give his word and promise for the rewards
unto

unto the six Gentlemen and the others.

Hee had already gotten unto himselfe some Gentlemen who were earnest Roman Catholikes, among the which the chiefeſt were *Edward Windſore*, brother to the Lord *Windſore* a mild young man, *Thomas Salisburie* of a worſhipfull family in *Denbighſhire*, *Charles Tilney* of an ancient worſhipfull houſe, the only hope of his family, and one of the Gentlemen penſioners to the Queene, whom *Ballard* had lately reconciled unto the Roman Church, both of them very proper men, *Chidiocke Ticbburne* of *Hamſhire*, *Edward Abington* whoſe father was Coſſerer to the Queene, *Robert Gage* out of *Surrey*, *Iohn Trauerſe*, and *Iohn Charnocke* of *Lancſhire*, *Iohn Iones* whoſe father had bin Taylor unto Queene *Mary*: the aforenamed *Savage*, *Barnwell*, of a worſhipfull family in *Ireland*, and *Henry Dnn*, a Clarke in the office of the firſt fruits and tenths, into this

this society. *Pooley* also insinuated himselfe, a man perfectly instructed in the affaires of the *Queene of Scotland*, a notable and cunning dissembler, who is thought to have discovered all their purposes and counsels unto *Walsingham* day by day, and to have urged these young men, ready enough to doe evill headlong, by suggesting and putting worse things into their heads; though *Norris*, Secretary to the *Queene of Scotland*, had secretly advised them to take heed of him.

Unto these men *Babington* communicated the matter, but not all things unto every one: hee sheweth his letters and those of the *Queene of Scotland* unto *Ballard*, *Tickburne*, and *Dun*; hee moveth *Tilney* and *Tickburne*, to dispatch the *Queene*. At the first they deny to contaminate and embroile their hands in their Princes blood, *Ballard* and *Babington* tels them that it is lawfull to kill Princes who bee ex-

communicated, and if one offend, it is to be done for the good of the Catholike Religion. Herewith they with much adoe perswaded, doe consent, *Abington*, *Barnwell*, *Charnock* and *Savage*, readily and voluntarily sweare to doe it. *Salisbury* could not be perswaded by any meanes to kill her, but for the delivery of the *Queene of Scotland*, he offered himselfe voluntarily unto *Savage* and the others; *Babington* designed *Tichenor*, of whose fidelity and valour hee had a great opinion, but hee was gone to travell. *Babington* charged them not to impart the matter unto any, before they had sworne them to be secret. The Conspirators conferre sometimes of this matter in *Pauls Church*, in *Saint Giles fields*, and in the *Tavernes*, in the which they kept many feasts: puffed up with the hope of great honours, now and then extolling the valour of the Nobilitie of *Scotland*, who had lately intercepted the *King of Scotland*

at

at *Sterling*, and *Gerard* the *Burgoniz-
an* who had killed the Prince of
Orange. And they proceeded to
that foolish vanity, that they cau-
sed them who were designed and
appointed to kil the *Queene* to be
painted in tables to the life, and
Babington in the midst of them with
this verse:

*Hi mihi sunt Comites quos ipsa
pericula ducunt.*

But for that this verse (as too
plaine) did not so well like them,
they tooke it away, and in the stead
thereof they put this:

Quoniam hæc, aliò properantibus?

It is reported that these tables
were intercepted and secretly
shewne unto the *Queene*, who
knew none of them by the coun-
tenance but *Barnwell*, who had of-
tentimes come unto her about the
causes of the Earle of *Kildare*, unto
whom he belonged; but by other
tokens which she was told she knew
the man. Truly one time walking
forth for her recreation, she espied

Barn-

Barnwell, and looked earnestly on him without feare, and turning unto *Hatton* Captaine of her Guard, and others, said, Am not I well attended and guarded, that have not in my company so much as one man that weareth a sword ? These words *Barnwell* himselfe told after to the conspirators, and shewed them how easily she might then have beene dispatched if the conspirators had beene there ; and *Savage* affirmed the same.

Now nothing troubled the minde of *Babington* more, than lest he should be deceived of the forraine forces : Therefore to make that sure and certaine, hee determined to goe over himselfe into *France*, and to send before *Ballard* over secretly for that purpose : for whom he had got a licence under a counterfeit name by a bribe he had given, and that he might cleere himselfe from all suspicion, by the before named *Poole*, he insinuated himselfe unto *Walsingham*, and
Q with

with great earnestnesse sued unto him to obtaine of the Queene for him a license to goe into *France*, promising to doe good service in searching and discovering the most secret plots of the fugitives, for the Queene of *Scotland*. He commended the purpose of the young man, and promised him not only a licence, but many and great matters if he performed it : Yet he delaied from time to time the matter (which they thought that not so much as the Sunne had knowne) having gotten it ont by the cunning wit of his owne, and of others, but especially by the intelligence of *Gilbert Giffard* a Priest.

This man borne at *Cheilington* in *Staffordshire*, not far from *Chartley*, where the Queene of *Scotland* was kept, and sent about this time by the fugitives into *England*, under the counterfeite name of *Lusson*, to remember *Savage* of his oath he had taken, and to lye hid to send the letters to and fro between them
and

and the *Queene of Scotland*: when they could draw neither the Countesse of *Arundell*, nor the Lord *Lumley*, nor *Henry Howard*, nor *George Sberley*, into so dangerous a businesse.

The fugitives, to try whether the conveying of letters by *Giffard* was safe, first sent Blanks made up like packets, which when they understood by answers to be delivered, they being more confident, sent also others in ziffres of their affaires, now and then. But *Giffard*, whether tormented in conscience, or corrupted by bribes, or terrified with feare, came secretly unto *Walsingham*, and told him who he was, and for what purpose he was sent into *England*, and offered all his service out of his love towards his Countrey and Prince, and promised to communicate unto him all the letters he received, either from the fugitives or from the *Queene of Scotland*. *Walsingham* embracing the occasion offered,

red, used the man courteously, sent him into *Staffordshire*, and wrote unto *Powlet* that he should suffer some of his servants to be corrupted by *Gifford* and to winck thereat. He as unwilling (as hee said) that any of his servants should be made a Traitor in a dissembling manner, yet as loth, hee suffered him to corrupt the Brewer, or the man that kept the provender, who dwelt hard by : *Giffard* quickly corrupted the Brewer for a few Angels of gold, who by a hole in the wall, into the which a stone was put so that it might be taken out, secretly sent in and received back letters, which by posts appointed came to the hands of *Walsingham*, who unsealed and wrote them out : and by the rare skill of *Thomas Philips* he found out the ziffres, and so sealed them againe by the skill of *Arthur Gregory*, that none could judge them to have beene unsealed, and so sent them unto those men unto whom they

they were directed. So were those former of the *Queene of Scotland* unto *Babington*, and the answers of him unto her, and others unto him (in the which was craftily added a postscript in the same character, bidding him to send the names of the six Gentlemen (if not the other) and also the letters sent the same day unto *Mendoza* the King of *Spaines* Embassador, unto *Charles Paget*, the Lord *Paget*, the Arch-Bishop of *Glasco*, and to *Fra. Inglesfield*, every one of which were copyed out, and afterward conveyed as they were directed.

Queene ELIZABETH, as soone as shee understood by these letters, that such a terrible storme hung over her head, on the one side from her subjects at home, and on the other side from foraine enemies, commanded *Ballard* to be apprehended, thereby to suppress the conspiracie betimes. So on a sudden hee was taken in the house of *Babington*, in the very in-

stant when he was ready to goe upon his journey into France. Hereat Babington was wonderfully perplexed, and was in a thousand mindes, and went to Tiebburne, and asked his advice, what was to be done : his counsell was, that the conspirators should scatter and fly sundry wayes, but his owne was, secretly to send *Savage* and *Charnock*, and that speedily to dispatch the Queene, yet that they might come with more facility unto her, to provide some richer and more courtlike sutes for *Savage*, and of this matter he talked with them in *Pauls Church* : but by and by changing his minde, and concealing his inward cares stinging his heart, he urged *Walsingham*, being then absent and at the Court, that his licence to travell into France might be now at length granted ; and withall intreated him, to let *Ballard* free, whom he should have great occasion to use in that negotiation. *Walsingham* delayed

delayed and held him on with faire promises from day to day, and as concerning *Ballard*, and taking of him, he layeth it upon *Young*, that cunning hunter out of Romanists, and as it were in friendship secretly advised him to take heed of such fellowes, and easily perswadeth the young man to lye all night in his house in *London*, untill the *Queene* signed his passe-port and he himselte returned to *London*, that they might talke of such important affaires with more secrecy, and lest the fugitives when he came to *France*, should gather any manner of suspicion, out of his often going to and fro thither.

In the meane time *Scudamore*, one of *Walsingham's* men was commanded to watch him very diligently, and to accompany him in every place, under the colour that he might be the safer from the Pursuivants. Hitherto had *Walsingham* contrived and wrought the businesse, the other Councillors

of the Queene being ignorant thereof ; and would have proceeded further and lengthened it, but the Queene would not, lest, as she said, *in not taking heed of a danger when she might, she should seeme more to tempt God than to hope in him.* Therefore out of the Court from *Walsingham* a scroll was sent unto his man, to watch *Babington* with more care : This being not sealed, was so delivered, that *Babington* sitting next to him at the Table, read it also. Hereupon being guilty in conscience, and suspecting that all things were discovered, the next night when he, *Scudamore*, and one or two more of *Walsingham*s men had in the Tavern supped with good cheere, he (as if he would have paid the reckoning) arose, leaving behind him his sword and eloake, and got to *Westminster* by the darknesse of the night, where *Gage* changed clothes with him, who forth-with put on *Charnock*s clothes, and together got

got closely into S. *Iohns* wood neere unto the Citie, unto which place came also *Barnwell* and *Dun*. In the meane time they were proclaimed Traytors thorow all *England*. They lurking in woods and by-ways, when they had in vaine requested money of the French Embassador, and horses of *Tichburne*, they cut off *Babingtons* haire, and disfigured his face with the greene shels of walnuts, but being compelled by famine, went to the *Bellamies* house neere to *Harrow on the Hill*, who were much addicted to the Roman religion: there they were hidden and releev'd with victuals in the birnes, and apparelled in husbandmens apparel, and being found after ten dayes, were brought to *London*, the citizens witnessing their public joy, with ringing of bells, making of bonfires in the streets, and singing of *Palmes*, so much that the citizens received great commendations and thanks of the

Queene for the same.

The other conspirators were soone after taken, most of them neere unto the Cicie, *Salisbury* in *Cheshire*, his horse being thrust thorow with a halbard, and *Traverse* with him, after they had swomme over the river of *Wever*; and in *Wales* was taken *Jones*, who being acquainted with the intended invasion, had also hidden them in his house, after he knew they were proclaimed traytors, and had moreover furnished *Salisbury* in his flighe with a horse, and his man (who was a Priest) with a cloake he lent him. Onely *Windfore* was not found. Many dayes were spent in the examination of these men, who in their confessions appeached one another, concealing nothing that was true.

All this time the Queene of *Scotland* and her servants were so narrowly kept and watched by *Peacock*, that these things were kept from her knowledge, though publicly

likely knowne in all *England*. As soone as these men were taken, *Tho. Gorge* was sent, who in few words should certifie her of these things, which hee purposely did unto her, nothing dreaming thereof, even as she had taken horse to goe on hunting ; neither was she suffered to returne, but under shew of honour, lead about to Gentlemens houses that dwelt thereabouts. In the meane time *I. Manner*, *Ed. Aston*, *Rich. Bagot*, and *William Waad*, by commission from the *Queene*, kept *Naves* and *Curler* her Secretaries and other servants severally, that they should have no communication with themselves nor with the *Queene*. And breaking open the doores of her closet, sent all her cabinets and desks wherein her papers were layd, sealed up with their seales unto the Court. Then *Powlet* so commanded, seized on all the money, lest she should corrupt any body with bribes, and gave his word

word to restore it. The caskets and
deskes being searched, before
Queene ELIZABETH, there
were found the letters of many
strangers, the copies also of letters
unto many, about 60. kinds of
Ciphers, and also the letters of ma-
ny noblemen of *England*, offering
their love and service, which yet
Queene ELIZABETH dissem-
bled in silence: but they smelling
it out, did afterward all they could
against her, that so they might not
seeme to have favoured her.

Now Gifford having served
their purpose in this manner, was
sent into *France* as a man banished,
leaving first with the French Em-
bassador in *England* a paper inden-
red with this charge, not to deli-
ver any letters from the Queene of
Scotland, or from the fugitives, and
came to his hands unto no other
man but him that brought the
counterpaine thereof, which hee
secretly sent to *Walsingham*. Being
returned into *France*, after some
moneths

moneths he was cast into prison for his wicked life, and suspected of these things dyed wretchedly, confessing most of these things to be true, which were also found to be true out of the papers in the desks.

On the XIII. day of September, seven of the conspirators were brought to the barre and arraigned, and acknowledged themselves guilty, and had judgement of treason. On the next day the other seven were brought to the barre, and pleaded not guilty unto their inditement, and put themselves to be tried by God and the countrey, who were proved guilty by their owne confessions, and were likewise condemned. *Pooley* only, though he was privy to all, for that he affirmed that he had told some things unto *Walsingham*, was not at all arraigned. On the XX. day of the same moneth, the first seven were on a paire of gallows set upon a scaffold in *Saint Giles* his field, where they had used to meet, hanged, and cut downe, and their

their privities cut off, bowelled and quartered as they were even alive, not without the note of cruelty, that is to say, *Ballard* the contriver of the wickednesse, asking pardon of God and the Queene, with this condition, if he had offended her. *Babington* (who without feare beheld the execution of *Ballard*, whiles the other turning their faces away, and on their knees were earnest at their prayers, ingenuously acknowledged his fault, and being let downe from the gallowes, sundry times plainly cryed out in the Latine tongue, *Parce mihi Domine Jesu. Savage* (the rope breaking) fell from the gallowes, and was strait pulled away, and his privy members cut off, and bowelled alive. *Barnwell* extenuated the fault with the pretext of Religion and conscience. *Tickburne* humbly acknowledging his wickednesse, moved all the multitude to compassion, and so likewise did *Tilney*, being

being a very proper man, and modest in behaviour. *Abington* being of a turbulent spirit and nature, casting out threats and terrors, of the blood that was ere long to be shed in *England*. On the next day, the other seven were drawne unto the same place, but used with more mercy by the *Queenes* commandement, who hated the former cruelty ; for every one of them hung till they were quite dead, before they were cut downe and bowelled. *Salisbury* the first, was very penitent, and advised the *Catholikes* not to attempt the *Restitution* of Religion by force or armes, and the same did *Dun* who was the next. *Jones* protesting that he had dissuaded *Salisbury* from this enterprize, and that he utterly condemned and disliked the haughty and rash spirit of *Abington*, and the purpose of invasion. *Charnock* and *Traverse* fixed wholly to their prayers, commended themselves to God and the *Saints*. *Gage* extolling the bounty-
full

full liberality of the Queene toward his father, and detesting his owne treacherous ingratitude toward a Princeſſe ſo well deſerving. *Hierom Bellamy*, who had hidden *Babington* after he was proclaimed traytor (whoſe brother privy to the ſame offence had ſtrangled himſelfe in priſon) aſhamed and ſilent was the laſt of this company.

Theſe men being executed, *Nasum* the Frenchman, and *Carlus* the Scot, who were Secretaries to the Queene of Scotland, being examined about the letters, copies of letters, and little notes and Ciphers found in the Queenes cloſet, of their owne will acknowledged by their ſubſcriptions, that the hand-writings were their owne, endited by her in *French*, taken by *Nasum*, and turned into *Engliſh* by *Carlus*: Neither did they deny that ſhe received letters from *Babington*, and that they wrote back by her commandement in ſuch a ſenſe as is aforeſaid. Yet this is certaine.

certaine out of letters, that when *Curlus* did at this time aske *Walsingham* for what he promised, that *Walsingham* did reprove him, as one forgetfull of an extraordinary grace, as that he had not confessed any thing but that he could not deny, when *Nune* charged him therewithall to his face.

The Councillors of *England* could not agree what should bee done with the *Queene of Scotland*: some thought good that no severity was to be used against her, but to be kept very close, as well for that she was not the beginner of this plot, but onely made acquainted with it; and also for that she was sickly, and not like to live long. Others for the security of Religion would have her dispatched out of the way, and that by the course of Law. *Leycester* had rather have it done by poyson, and secretly sent a Divine to *Walsingham*, to shew him that this was lawfull: but *Walsingham* protested that he was so farre

farre from allowing that any violence should be used, that long agoe he crossed and broke the advice of *Morton*, who had perswaded to send her into *Scotland*, that shee might be killed in the very borders of both the kingdomes. They were moreover of different opinions, by what law or Act they should proceed against her, whether out of that of the XXV. yeare of *Edward* the third (in which he is a traytor who deviseth to kill the King or the Queene, or moveb warre in the Kingdome, or doth adhere unto his enemies ;) Or whether by that Law or Act of the XXVII. yeare of *Queene ELIZABETH*, which is set downe before : At length their opinion prevailed, who would have it by this latter law, as made for this purpose, and therefore to be accommodated thereunto : therefore out of that law enacted the former yeare, that enquiry might be made, and sentence pronounced against them who

who raised rebellion, invaded the kingdome, or attempted to hurt the Queene, many of the Privy Counsell and Noblemen of England were chosen Commissioners by letters Patents, which was this after the Lawyers forme and stile.

ELIZABETH by the grace of God, of England, France, and Ireland, *Queene: Defender of the faith, &c.* To the most Reverend Father in Christ Iohn Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, Primate and Metropolitane of all England, and one of our Privy Counsell; And to our beloved and trusty Thomas Bromley Knight, Chancellor of England, and another of our Privy Counsell, And also to our well-beloved and trusty William Lord Burghley, Lord Treasurer of England, another of our Privy Councell, And also to our most deare cousin William Marquesse of Winchester, one of the Lords of the Parliament, And to our most deare cousin Edward Earle of Oxford, great Chamberlaine of England, another of
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the Lords of the Parliament, And also to our most deare cousin George Earle of Shrewsbury, Earle Marshall of England, another of our Privy Councell, and to our most deare cousin Henry Earle of Kent, another of the Lords of the Parliament, And also to our most deare cousin Henry Earle of Darby, another of our Privy Councell, And to our most deare cousin William Earle of Worcester, another of the Lords of the Parliament, And to our most deare cousin Edward Earle of Rutland, another of the Lords of the Parliament, And to our most deare cousin Ambrose Earle of Warwick, Master of our Ordinance, another of our Privy Councell, and to our most deare cousin Henry Earle of Pembroke, another of the Lords of the Parliament, And also to our most deare cousin Robert Earle of Leicester Master of our horse, another of our Privy Councell, And to our most deare cousin Henry Earle of Lincolne, another of the Lords of the Parliament, And also to our most deare cousin Antony Vicount Montague, another of
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the Lords of the Parliament, And to our welbeloved and trusty, Charles Lord Howard our great Admirall of England, another of our Privy Counsell, And to our welbeloved and faithfull Henry Lord Hunsdon our Lord Chamberlaine, another of our Privy Councell, And also to our welbeloved and trusty Henry Lord of Arburghvenny another of the Lords of the Parliament, And to our welbeloved and trusty Edward Lord Zouch, another of the Lords of the Parliament, And also to our welbeloved and trusty Edward Lord Morley, another of the Lords of the Parliament, And also to our welbeloved and trusty William Lord Cobham Lord Warden of our five Ports, another of our Privy Councell, And also to our welbeloved and trusty Edward Lord Stafford, another of the Lords of the Parliament, And also to our welbeloved and trusty Arthur Lord Grey of Wilton, another of the Lords of the Parliament, And also to our welbeloved and trusty Iohn Lord Lumley, another of the Lords of the

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the Parliament, And also to our welbelov-
ed and trusty Iohn Lord Sturton,
another of the Lords of the Parliament,
And to our welbeloved and trusty Wil-
liam Lord Sandes, another of the
Lords of the Parliament, And also to
our welbeloved and trusty Henry Lord
Wentworth, another of the Lords of
the Parliament, To our welbeloved and
trusty Lewis Lord Mordant, another
of the Lords of the Parliament, And to
our welbeloved and trusty Iohn Lord
St. Iohn of Bletso, another of the
Lords of the Parliament, And also to our
welbeloved and trusty Thomas Lord
Buckhurst, another of our Privy Coun-
cell, And to our welbeloved and trusty
Henry Lord Compton, another of the
Lords of the Parliament, And also to
our welbeloved and trusty Henry Lord
Cheney, another of the Lords of the
Parliament, To our welbeloved and
trusty Francis Knolles Knight, Trea-
surer of our household, another of our
Privy Councell, And also to our wel-
beloved and trusty Iames Crofts
Knight, Controller of our said household,
another

another of our Privy Councell : To our beloved and trusty Christopher Hatton Knight, our vice-Chamberlain, another of our Privy Councell ; And also to our trusty and welbeloved Francis Walsingham Knight, one of our chiefe Secretaries, another of our Privy Councell, And also unto our trusty and welbeloved, William Davison Esquire, another of our principall Secretaries, of our Privy Councell, And to our trusty and welbeloved Ralph Sadleir Knight Chancellor of our Duchy of Lancaster, another of our Privy Councell, And also to our trusty and welbeloved, Walter Mildmay Knight, Chancellor of our Exchequer, another of our Privy Councell, And to our trusty and beloved, Amyas Powlet Knight, Captaine of the Ile of Jersey, another of our Privy Councell, And to our trusty and welbeloved Iohn Wolley Esquire, our Secretary for the Latine tongue, another of our Privy Councell, And also to our trusty and welbeloved Chistopher Wray Knight, chiefe Iustice of the Kings Bench, And to our trusty and welbeloved

*wellbeloved Edmund Anderson K.
 Chiefe Iustice of the Common Bench,
 Roger Manwood Knight, Chiefe Ba-
 ron of our Exchequer, Thomas Gaw-
 dy Knight, one of our Iustices of the
 Kings Bench, And William Peryam
 one of the Iustices of our Bench, Greet-
 ing: &c. And not to set it downe
 verbatim: After the recapitulation
 of the act made the last yeare, these
 words follow: When after the end of
 the Session of Parliament, viz. after the
 first day of Iune, in the XXVII.
 yeare of our reigne, diuers things haue
 bene compassed and devised tending to
 the hurt of our Royall Person, as well by
 Mary daughter and beire of Iames the
 fift, lately King of Scotland, and
 commonly called *Queene* of Scotland
 and Dowager of France, pretending
 title unto the Crowne of this Realme of
 England, as by diuers other persons,
 with the privity of the same Mary, as it
 is given us to understand: and for that
 we intend and determine, that the said
 Act should be executed rightly and ef-
 fectually in all things, and by all things,
 according*

according to the tenour of the said Act; and that all the offences aforesaid, in the aforesaid Act, as it is said, mentioned, and the circumstances of the same should be examined, and sentence and judgement thereupon given, according to the tenor and effect of the said Act: Wee give unto you, and to the greater part of you, full and ample power, faculty, and authority, according to the tenour of the said Act, to examine all and singular things compassed and devised, tending to the hurt of our Royall Person, with the privy of the said Mary, and all the circumstances of the same, and all the aforesaid offences whatsoever mentioned in the said Act, as it is said, and all circumstances of the same offences, and of every one of them: And moreover according to the tenour of the said Act to give sentence and judgement, even as the matter shall appeare unto you upon good prooffe; And therefore we command you to proceed diligently upon the aforesaid things in the forme aforesaid, at certaine dayes and places, which you or the greater part of you shall appoint, and

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provide

provide for this purpose, &c.

The most of these came to *Fordinghay* Castle in *Northamptonshire*, on the xi. day of *October*, where the *Queene of Scotland* was then kept. On the next day the Commissioners sent unto her, *Sir Walter Mildmay*, *Sir Amias Powlet*, and *Edward Barker*, a publike Notary, who delivered into her hands the letters of *Queene ELIZABETH*, which when she had read over, she with a Princely countenance and quiet minde said: I am much aggrieved that the *Queene* my most deare sister is wrong informed of me, and that I, who have so straitly bene kept so many yeeres, and being now lame, after I have offered so many equall and faire conditions for my liberty, have laine so long time neglected: Although I have fully forewarned her of my dangers, yet I was not beleaved, but was alwayes despised, although I am most nere to her in blood. When the Association was made, and when it was confirmed in the Parliament, I foresaw that whatsoever dis-

ger befell, either by forraine Princes abroad, or any harebraine fellows at home, or for the cause of Religion, I should pay deare for the same, I having so many deadly enemies at the Court. I may take it in evill part, and I have cause for it, that a league was made with my sonne, without my privy or knowledge, but such like things I pretermitt. But to come unto these letters; It seemeth strange unto me that the *Queene* commandeth me, as if I were her subject, to come unto a tryall: I am an absolute *Queene*, neither will I doe or commit any thing, which may empaire or wroug the Royall Majesty of Kings and Princes, of my place and ranke, or my sonne; My minde is not so dejected, neither will I yeeld and sink downe under calumny, I referre my selfe unto those things which I protested before Bromly and the Lord De la Ware. The lawes and statutes of England are to me utterly unknowne, I am destitute of councellors, I tell you plainly I know not who may be my Peeres: my papers and notes of remembrances are t.

ken from me, there is none that dare plaad or speake in my cause. I am free from all offence against the Queene, neither am I to be called in question, but upon mine owne word or writing, which can never be brought against me; But yet I cannot deny but that I have commended my selfe and my cause to forraine Princes.

On the next day returned unto her in the name of the Commissioners, Powlet and Barker, who shewed this answer put into writing, and they asked her if she persisted in the same; After she had heard it distinctly read, she commended it as truly and rightly conceived, and said she would persist in the same: But, said she, I did not remember one thing which I wish may be put in: Whereas the Queene hath written I am subject and liable unto the lawes of England, and am to be judged by them, because I lived under the protection of them: I answer, That I came into England to aske and crave aid and helpe, from which time I have beene kept and detained in prison, and could not enjoy

enjoy the protection and benefit of the lawes of England, and hitherto I could not understand by any body what the lawes of England were.

In the afternoone many chosen out of the Commissioners, with men skilfull in the Canon and Ci-vill lawes, came unto her : but the Chancellor and the Treasurer declared their authority out of the letters patents, and shewed her that neither captivity, nor the prerogative of Royall Majesty could exempt her from answering in this kingdome ; and mildly hee admonished her to heare the objections made against her: if not, they threatened they both might and would proceed against her by the authority of the law. She answered, *That she was not a subject, and had rather die a thousand times, than acknowledge her selfe a subject : since that by acknowledging it, shee should doe prejudice and wrong unto the highnesse of the Majesty of Kings, and withall should confesse her selfe to be bound unto all the lawes of*

England, even in matters of Religion. Nevertheless shee was ready to answer unto all things in a full and free Parliament, since that shee is ignorant if onely for a fashion and a shew, this assembly was appointed against her already condemned with their fore-judgments; therefore she closely admonisheth them to looke unto their consciences, and to remember that the Theater of the whole world was farre more spacious, than the kingdome of England. Lastly, shee began to complaine of the injuries done unto her, and the Treasurer to rehearse the benefits of Queene ELIZABETH bestowed upon her, viz. that shee had punished many who did impugne the right shee challenged unto England, and had hindred that she was not condemned by the Estates of the Realme, for the pursuing the marriage with the Duke of Norfolk, the rebellion in the North, and other things: which things when shee seemed to make slight of, they went away.

After

After a few houres, by *Powlet* and the Solicitor they shewed the heads of the letters Patents, and the names of the Commissioners, that shee might see that they were to deale formally and in good fashion, uprightly, and not according to the quirkes of law, and extraordinarily. Shee made no exception against the Commissioners, but a bitter one against the new or late Act upon which all the authority of the Commissioners depended, that is, to wit, that it was unjustly devised purposely against her, and that there was no example of the like proceeding, and that she would never submit her selfe to triall upon that Act. Shee asked by what law they would proceed against her: If by the Civill or Canon lawes, she said the expounders were to be sent for to *Pavy* or *Poytiers*, and other outlandish Universities, since that fit men were not to bee found in *England*. Moreover shee added that it was evident by plaine words

in the letters, that shee was accounted guilty of the fault, although shee was not heard, and therefore shee had no reason to appeare before them, and she required to bee satisfied of many scruples in these letters, which she had noted, confusedly and in haste by her selfe alone, but she would not deliver them in writing, for that it did not beseeme a King or Prince to play the Scribe.

About this matter those Commissioners selected came to her againe, unto whom shee signified that shee did not understand the meaning of these words, *Since shee is in the protection of the Queene.* The Chancellor answered, *This to bee apparant enough to any one of understanding, but yet it is not the duty of Subjects to expound what the Queene meant, neither were they made Commissioners for that cause.* Then she requested that the protestation which shee had made in former times, to be shewed & to be allowed. It was answered, that it was never allowed, neither that

that it was to be allowed now, for that it was a wrong to the Crowne of England. She asked by what authority they would proceed. It was answered, by the authority of the letters Patents, and the law of England. But you, said shee, make lawes as you list, unto which, it is no reason why I should submit my selfe, since that the Englishmen in former times refused to submit themselves unto the Salicke law of the Frenchmen. But if they proceeded by the Law of England, they should bring a president for their doings, since that, that law for the most part consisted upon examples and customes. But if by the Canon Law, then no other men ought to expound the same, but the makers of them. It was answered, that they would proceed neither by the Civill nor Canon lawes, but by the lawes of England: But yet that by the Civill and Canon lawes it might be shewed that shee ought to appeare before them, if shee did not refuse to heare this, neither did shee refuse to heare,

but as in way of communication,
but not by way of Justice or
triall.

Hereupon she fell into other
speeches, viz. that shee never com-
passed or devised any thing to hurt
or kill the Queene, that shee had
beene offended at the wrongs and
indignities done to her, that shee
should be a stumbling blocke, if she
were discourteously used; that she
did by *Narus* offer her labour and
best meanes for the revocation of
the *Popes Bull*; that shee would have
defended her innocency by letters,
nelther was this permitted: And
to conclude, that all her offices of
good will for this twenty yeeres
have beene rejected, with such like
small digressions, her going on fur-
ther they called backe, and bade her
to say in plaine termes, whether she
would answer before the Com-
missioners; shee replied, *That this*
their authority was given to them by the
new act made to insnare her: That shee
could not endure the Lawes of the
Queene

Queene, which she upon good reason suspected: That shee having bin hitherto of good courage, would not now wrong her ancestors the Kings of Scotland, by acknowledging that shee is a subject of the Crowne of England, for this is no other thing than openly to confesse themselves thereby to have beene Rebels and traitors. Yet that she refused not to answer, so she be not reduced unto the ranke of a subject: and that shee had rather die a thousand times, than to answer as a Criminall offender.

Unto these speeches Hatton the Vice-Chamberlaine of the *Queene* said; You are accused (but not condemned) to have conspired to kill our Lady and anointed *Queene*. You say you are a *Queene*. Be it so. But the Royall estate of a *Queene* doth not exempt you from answering unto such a crime as this is, neither by the civill nor Canon law, nor by the law of Nations, nor by the law of Nature. For all Justice would be of no force, yea be utterly overthrowne, if faults of such nature should be committed without punishment. If you be innocent, you doe wrong to your credit

eradit by flying from triall. You protest
 your selfe to be innocent, but Queene
 ELIZABETH is of another minde,
 and not without cause, but truly to her
 great griefe : Therefore to examine
 your innocency, shee hath sent with au-
 thoritie most honourable, most wise,
 and most upright men, who with
 equity and with favour, are to heare
 you, and they will rejoyce from their
 heart, if you cleare your selfe of this
 crime. Beleeve me, the Queene her selfe
 will be very glad, who said to me at my
 departure, that there could not a thing
 have happened more grievous unto her,
 than that you are charged with this
 fault. Wherefore laying by the superfluo-
 us privilege of a Royall Estate, which
 can be now of no use, make your appea-
 rance for a triall; shew your innocency,
 lest by searching of evasions you draw
 upon your selfe suspicion, and purchase a
 perpetuall blemish of your reputation. I
 doe not refuse, said shee, to answer in a
 full Parliament, before the Estates of
 the Kingdome lawfully called, so that I
 may be declared next in succession : Ye a
 and

and before the *Queene* and her Counsellors, so that my protestation may be admitted, and I may be acknowledged the next kinswoman of the *Queene*. In plaine termes I will not submit my selfe unto the judgment of mine adversaries, by whom I know all the defence I can make of mine innocency will not be allowed and received. The Chancellor asked her if she would answer, if her protestation were admitted: She answered, I will never submit me to the new law mentioned in the letters Patent. Hereupon the Treasurer replied, Yet we will proceed to morrow though you be absent, and continue obstinate in the cause. Shee said, Search and examine your consciences, have regard to your honour, God will requite you and your heires for your judgement upon me.

On the next day being the fourteenth day of October, she sent for some of the Commissioners, and requested that the protestation might bee admitted and allowed.

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The Treasurer asked her whether she would come to triall, if the protestation were onely received and put into writing without allowance. At length she condescended, yet with an evill will, lest she (as she said) might seeme to derogate from her predecessors or successors, but that she was much desirous to cleare the crime objected, being perswaded by the reasons of *Hatton*, which she had better thought on.

Forthwith met and assembled in the Chamber of presence, the Commissioners that were present. There was a chaire of estate set under a Canopy in the upper part of the chamber, for the Queene of *England*: Against it lower and further off, neere unto the railes a Chaire for the Queene of *Scotland*, hard to the wals on both sides benches or formes, on the which on the one side sate the Chancellor of *England*, the Treasurer of *England*, the Earles of *Oxford*, *Kent*, *Darby*, *Warcester*, *Rutland*, *Cumberland*, *Warwicke*, *Penbroke*, *Lincolne*,
and

and Vicount *Mountacute*; on the other side the Lords *Aburgeny*, *Zouch*, *Morley*, *Stafford*, *Gey*, *Lumley*, *Sturton*, *Saunders*, *Wentworth*, *Mordant*, *Saint Iohn of Bletso*, *Compton*, and *Ckeiney*: Next to them sate the Knights of the Privy Conncell, as *James Croft*, *Christopher Hatton*, *Francis Walsingham*, *Ralph Sadleir*, *Walter Mildmay*, and *Amias Powlet*. Forward before the Earles sate the two chiefe Justices, and the chiefe Baron of the Exchequer; on the other side, two Barons and other Justices, *Dale* and *Ford*, Doctors of the Civill law; at a little table in the middle sate *Popham* the *Queenes* attourney, *Egerton* the Solicitor, *Gaudie* the *Queens* Serjeant at law, the Clark of the Crowne, and two Clarkes.

When shee was come and had set her selfe in her seat, silence being made, *Bromley* the Chancellor turning to her, made a short speech to this purpose: *The most high and mighty Queene of England being certi-*
fied

sied to her great grieve and anguish of minde, that you have plotted both the destruction of her and of England, and also of Religion; according to the duty due unto God, her selfe, and people, in the which lest she should faile, and out of no malice of mine, hath appointed these Commissioners, who may heare what things are objected against you, and how you can cleare your selfe from the crimes laid against you, and shew your innocency. She arising up said, that shee came into England to seeke and request aid, which was promised her, nevertheless that she was detained in prison ever since that time. Shee protested, that shee was not subject to the Queene, but was a free and absolute Queene, neither was to be forced or compelled to be brought in or tried before the Commissioners or any other Iudge, for any cause whatsoever, but only God alone the Sovereaigne Iudge of all, lest that she should doe wrong and injury unto her owne Royall Majesty, her sonne the King of Scotland, her successors, or any other absolute Princes: but now shee was there.

there in person to refell the crimes objected against her. And she requested her friends or servants to witness these things. The Chancellor not acknowledging that helpe was promised, answered, *That this protestation was to no purpose, for that whosoever, of whatsoever ranke or estate he were in England, did offend against the lawes of England, may be made subject to the same, and may be examined and judged by the late new law. And that therefore that protestation made to the prejudice of the lawes, and of the Queene of England, was not to be admitted.* Yet the Commissioners commanded, as well her protestation, as the answer of the Chancellor to be recorded. Then the letters Patents, which as I have often said, were founded upon the Act of Parliament, being read aloud, shee with a great courage made a protestation against that Act, as made directly and purposefully against her, and in this matter put it to their conscience: and when

when the Treasurer answered, that every man in this Realme was bound to the observation of the lawes, though never so lately made, and that she might not speake in disgrace of the lawes, and that the Commissioners would judge by vertue of that law, whatsoever protestations or appellations shee made: At length she said shee was ready and prepared to answer of any act whatsoever, done against the *Queene of England.*

Then *Gaudy* expounded and made plaine the Act in every point, and affirmed, that shee had offended against the same, and then hee made an Historicall Narration of *Babingtons* conspiracie, and concluded, that *shee knew of it, allowed it, promised helpe, and shewed the waies and the means.* She with an undanted courage answered, that *she knew not Babington, never received letters from him, nor never wrote unto him, never plotted the destruction of the Queene:* And that to prove it ef-
fectu-

fectually, the subscription under her owne hand was to be produced. She never heard so much as any man speake it: that shee knew not Ballard, never maintained him, but that shee had heard that the Catholikes were much agrieved with many things, and that she certified the *Queene* therewith in her letters, and had earnestly desired her to have pittie of them: And that many, utterly to her unknown, had offered their service unto her; yet that she never moved any to any wickednesse: and that she being shut up in prison, could neither know, nor hinder the things which they attempted.

Upon this, out of the confession of *Babington*, shee was urged that there passed an intercourse of letters betweene her and *Babington*. She acknowledged, that she had speech with many by letters, nevertheless it could not be gathered thereby, that shee knew of all their naughty practices: She requested, that a subscription with her owne hand might be produced, and shee asked, who could have harme by it,
if

if shee had requested to have letters detained almost a whole yeare. Then the Copies of the letters of Babington unto her were read, in the which all the plot was described. She said, *As concerning these letters, it may be that Babington might write, but let it be proved that I received them: if Babington or others haue affirmed this, I say in plaine termes they lie. Otser mens faults are not to be laid on my back. A packet of letters, which was detained almost a yeere, came about that time to my hands, but truly I know not by whom it was sent to mee.*

To prove that she had received Babingtons letters, there was read out of the confession of Babington the heads of the letters which he had voluntarily confessed that she had written back.

In like manner things taken out of the confessions of Ballard and Savage were read, who confessed that Babington had communicated unto them letters received from the Queene of Scotland. She affirmed, that Babington had received none from

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her, yea rather that she had beene angry with them that secretly suggested, and gave counsell about the invading of England, and warned them to beware and take heed. Then were shewen the Letters, in the which the plot of Babington was commended and approved. She asked to have the copy of them, and affirmed that they came not from her, but perhaps out of her Alphabet of Cyphers in France, that she hath laboured to get her liberty, which is a thing naturall to all men, and to have treated with her friends to use means to deliver her : Neverthelesse unto many whom she was not disposed to name who offered their service, shee had not answered a word, but that shee much desired to turne away the storme of persecution from the Catholikes, and that shee intreated the *Queene* thereunto, that shee would not get a kingdome with the blood of the meaneest of all the Commons. That there are many who attempt things pernicious without her knowledge, and in some letters which shee hath received very lately, some had begged pardon of her, if they attempted any thing

thing without her privy. That it was an easie matter to counterfeit the Characters and Cyphers, as a young man, who had boasted himselfe to be the bastard brother to her sonne, did very lately in France. That she also feared lest this was contrived by Wallingham, who (as she had heard it muttered) had plotted against the life of her and her Sonne. She protesteth that shee never thought to hurt or kill the Queene, but that she had rather more willingly bestow her life, than that the Catholikes should be afflicted so often, and lose their lives with such grievous torments for her sake, and in hatred of her.

But, said the Treasurer, none who was an obedient subject was put to death for Religion, but many were for Treason, maintaining the Popes authority and Bull against the Queene. But, said shee, I have heard otherwise, and I have read it also in printed books. The writers of such bookes, replied he, wrote also that the Queene was deprived of her Royall dignity.

Walsingham, who even now perceived

perceived himselfe nipped and touched, rose up, and protesting that his minde was not possessed with any evill will, said, I call God to witnesse, that I, as a private man, have done nothing not be seeming an honest and upright man, neither for the publicke person which I beare have done any thing which doth not belong unto my place. I confesse that I have teene carefull of the safety of the *Queene* and the Realme, and have curiously sought to finde the plots against her. If Ballard had offered me his service, I had not refused it, and had recompenced him for his travell and paine taken. If I have plotted any thing with him, why did he not tell it out, that he might have saved his life? She said that she remained contented with this answer: she requested him not to be angry, for that she so freely spoke what shee had heard, and that he would not beleewe more them that slandered her, than shee did them that defamed him: That spies were men not to be trusted, for they dissemble one thing, and say another. That he
would

would by no meanes beleieve that she consented to hurt or kill the *Queene*. And then weeping amaine, said, *I will never cast away my soule in conspiring to kill my most deare sister*. The Lawyers made answer, that it would be foundly proved by testimonies presently. These things were done before noone.

In the afternoone, for the more substantiall prooffe thereof, the copy of the letters which *Charles Paget* wrote, was brought forth and shewed, and *Carlus* one of her Secretaries, witnessed, that shee received, of the conference betweene *Mendoza* and *Ballard* about the counsell of invading *England*. She answered, *This is nothing to the matter, neither doth it prove that I consented to hurt or kill the Queene*. Moreover, the Lawyers went forward, to prove that she was privy of the conspiracie, and also conspired to kill the *Queene*, out of the confession of *Babington*, and the letters betweene her and *Babington*; in the
which

which he had saluted and stiled her
his high and mighty Lady and Queene.
And by the way they rehearsed, that
there was a Councell holden of
assigning and conferring over the
Kingdome of *England* unto the
King of *Spaine*. She acknowledged,
that a Priest came to her, and said,
if shee did not stop it, that both
she and her sonne should be exclu-
ded from their inheritance: but she
would not tell the name of the
Priest. And moreover, shee said,
that the *Spaniard* challenged a
right unto the Kingdome of *Eng-
land*, and would not give place un-
to any, but unto her. Then they
pressed her with the testimonies of
Naxus and *Curlus* her Secretaries,
out of the confession of *Babington*,
and the letters that passed betweene
Babington and her; and all the cre-
dit of their proofes depended upon
the testimony of them, and yet
they were not brought forth face
to face. She did acknowledge *Cur-
lus* to be an honest man, but not a
Sufficient

sufficient witnesse against her. That *Nauur*, sometimes Secretary to the Cardinall of *Lorraine*, commended to her by the *French* King, might be easily induced either by bribes, or hope, or feare, to beare false witnesse, as one, who sundry times had made rash oathes, and had *Curius* so tractable and at his beck, that hee would write whatsoever hee bade. And it may be that they might put into the letters, such things which she had not indited, and also that such letters came to their hands, which yet she never saw. And broke out into such or the like words : *The Majesty and safety of Princes will be of small authority, and be contemned, if they doe depend on the writings and testimony of their Secretaries. I did indite unto them nothing but that which nature hath taught mee ; that I might recover and get my liberty at last ; neither am I to be convinced, but out of mine owne words or writing. If they have written any thing that may be hurt and dam-*
mage

mage to my most deare sister, unwilling
to mee, let them be punished for their
inconsiderate boldnesse. I certainly
know if they were here present, they
would in this cause acquite me of this
fault. And if I had my papers here, I
could answer unto these things in par-
ticular.

Amongst those things, the
Treasurer objected, that she had
determined to send her sonne into
Spain, and to assigne over unto the
Spaniard, the right that she chal-
lenged in the Kingdome of England.
Unto whom shee answered, That
she had no Realme that she could give
away, but yet it was lawfull to give a-
way her owne things at her will and
pleasure. When the Alphabets of
Cyphers conveyed unto Babington,
the Lord Lodovick, and to the
Lord of Ferniburst, were objected
unto her out of the testimony of
Curtis, shee denied not, but that she
had set downe more, and among the rest,
that for the Lord Lodovick, at such
time as shee commended him and ano-

ther unto the dignity of a Cardinall, and
 as shee hoped without offence, foras-
 much that it was no lesse lawfull for her
 to haue commerce of letters, and treat
 of her affaires, with men of her Religi-
 on, than it was for the Queene, with the
 professors of the other Religion : Then
 they pressed her thicker, with the
 agreeing testimonies of *Namus* and
Carlius, repeated againe, and shee
 also repeated her former answers;
 or else repulsed them with precise
 denials, protesting againe, that she
 neither knew *Babington* nor *Ballard*.
 Among these speeches, when the
 Treasurer put in his verdict, say-
 ing, that shee knew well *Morgan*,
 who secretly sent *Parry* to kill the
 Queene; and had given him an an-
 nuall pension, she replied, shee
 knew that *Morgan* had lost for her cause
 all that he had, and therefore shee was
 bound in honour to releue him, and
 that shee was not bound to revenge an
 injury done by a well deserving friend
 unto the Queene, but yet that shee had
 terrified him from making any such at-
 tempts.

tempts. But yet pensions, said shee, were given out of England unto Patrick Grey, and to the Scots that were mine enemies, as likewise to my sonne. The Treasurer answered: At such time as the revenues of the Kingdom of Scotland were much diminished and impaired by the negligence of the Viceroyes, the *Queene* gave some liberality unto the King your sonne, her most neere allied Cousin. Afterward was shewed the contents of the Letters unto Inglefield, and to the Lord Paget, and unto Bernardino de Mendoza, concerning forraigne aid. And when to those shee had made answer; These things touch not, nor concerne the death of the *Queene*; and if so be that strangers desired and laboured to deliver her, it was not to be objected against her; and that shee had sundry times signified unto the *Queene*, that she would seeke for her liberty: The matter was adjourned unto the next day.

On the next day she repeated againe her former protestation, and

requested that it might be recorded, and a copy thereof delivered unto her, lamenting that the most reasonable conditions which she had propounded ofentimes unto the Queene, were alwayes rejected, yea when she promised to give her sonne, and the sonne of the Duke of Guise for hostages, that the Queene, or the kingdome of England should take no harme by her. That she saw long ere now, that all wayes of liberty were stopped, but now that shee is most basely used, to have her honour and estimation called into question, before Petifoggers and Lawyers, who draw every circumstance into consequences by their quiddities and trickes, since that anointed and consecrated Princes are not subject, nor under the same lawes that private men are. Moreover when they have authority and commission given them of examining Things tending to the hurt of the Queenes Person; yet notwithstanding the cause is so handled and letters wrested, that the Religion which shee professeth, and the immunity and Majesty

jesty of furraine Princes, and the private commences betwene Princes, are called into question, and she below her Royall dignity is brought to the barre, as it were to be arraigned, and to no other purpose, but that she may be wholly excluded from the favour of the Queene, and from her right in the Succession, when shee appeared voluntarily to confute all objections, lest shee might seeme to have beene slack in the defence of her honour and credit. Shee also called to their memory, how ELIZABETH her selfe had beene drawne into question for the conspiracy of Wyat, when yet she was most innocent, Religiously affirming, that although shee wished the good and welfare of Catholikes, yet she would not have it to be done by the death and blood of any one. That she had rather play the part of Hester, than of Judith, make intercession unto God for the people, rather than to take away the life of the meekest of the people. And then appealing unto the Majesty of God, and unto the Princes that were allied un-

to her; and repeating againe her protestation, she requested that there might be another assembly about this matter, and that shee might have a Lawyer assigned unto her, and that since she was a Prince, that they would give credit to the word of a Prince, for it was extreme folly to stand unto their judgement, whom shee most plainly saw to be armed with fore-judgements against her.

Unto these speeches the Treasurer said: Since that I beare a twofold person, the one of a Delegate or Commissioner, and the other of a Counsellor; First, take of me a few things, as from a Commissioner: Your protestation is recorded, and the copie thereof shall be delivered unto you. Wee have authority given us under the Queenes owne hand, and the great Seal of England, from the which there is no appellation: neither come we with a fore-judgement, but to judge according to the rule and square of Iustice. The Lawyers aime at no other thing, but that

that the truth may appeare how farre forth you have offended against the Queenes person. We have full power given us to heare and examine the matter, yea in your absence ; yet we desire to have you present, lest wee should seeme to diminish your honour or credit : neither have we thought to object unto you any thing, but that you have done or attempted against the Queenes person. The letters are read for no other purpose, but to lay open the practice against the Queene, and other things pertaining thereunto, and are so mingled with other things, that they cannot be separated. And therefore the whole letters, and not parcels taken out of sundry places of them, are read, for as much as circumstances doe give credit unto the things of which you dealt with Babington.

She interrupting him, said, That the circumstances might be proved, but not the deed, that her integrity depended not upon the credit and memory of her Secretaries, though shee knew them honest : but yet if they have con-

fessed something out of feare of the rack,
 hope of reward, and of impunity, it is
 not to be admitted and received out of
 iust causes, which shee may declare in
 another place; that the minds of men
 are carried away by sundry kinds of affe-
 ctions, that they would never have con-
 fessed such things, but either for gaine,
 or upon some hope: that letters may be di-
 rected unto others, than unto whom
 they are written, and that many things
 which shee had not dictated, had many
 times bene inserted: if her papers had
 not bene taken away, and that shee had
 a Secretarie, shee could with more ease
 confute their objections.

But nothing (said the Treasurer)
 shall be objected, but from the nine and
 twentieth day of Iune, neither will the
 papers doe any good, since the Secreta-
 ries and Babington himselfe, without
 torture have affirmed you to have sent
 letters unto Babington; which thing
 although you deny, let the Commis-
 sioners judge, whether more credit is to be
 given unto their affirmation or your de-
 niall. But to come to the matter. As a
 Counsellor

Counsellour I tell you this, you have made many propositions about your liberty at sundry times : that nothing came thereof, was long of you, or of the Scots, and not of our Queene, for the Noble-men of Scotland absolutely denied to deliver the King for hostage. And when last of all there was a treaty for your delivery, Parry was sent secretly by Morgan to kill the Queene. Ah (said shee) you are my professed enemy : Yes rather (replied he) I am an enemy to the enemies of Queene ELIZABETH : but enough of these things ; Let us therefore proceed unto proofes : when shes denied to heare, Yet we will heare (said he) and I also (said she) in another place, and will defend my selfe.

Now were read againe the letters unto Charles Paget, in which shee told him, there was no other way for the Spaniard to bring the Netherlands into subjection, than by placing a Prince in England who might doe him good : the letters unto the Lord Paget to hastenaid
and

and forces to invade England : the letters of Cardinall *Allan*, in which he saluted her as his *high and soveraigne Lady*, and signified that the businesse was commended unto the care of the Prince of Parma. As these were in reading, she interrupted them, saying : *That Babington and her Secretaries accuse her to excuse themselves ; that shee never heard of the six Russians ; that the other things were not to the matter ; that she esteemed Allan to bee a reverend Prelate ; that shee did acknowledge no other head of the Church, than the Pope of Rome ; that shee was not ignorant in what regard and estimation shee was with him and with forraigne Princes, nor could shee hinder it, if they in their letters called her Queens ; that her Secretaries since they did against their office, faith, and fidelity, confirmed by oath unto her, deserved no credit ; that there was no credit to be given to them that were once forsworne, though they swore againe by all the oathes of God ; neither that they did thinke themselves joyed*
with

with any oath whatsoever in conscience, since that they have sworne unto her before that loyaltie and secrecie, neither for that they were not subjects of England: that Navus had written oftentimes otherwise than she had dictated, and that Gurlus had written all whatsoever Navus had bidden, but that she would mainvaine and uphold their faults in all things, but those that might blemish her honour. Perhaps also these fellows did confesse to doe themselves a benefit, whilst they might thinke not to hurt her, with whom, as with a *Queene*, they thought mildnesse should be used; that shee heard nothing of Ballard, but of one Hallard, who had offered his service, which yet shee had refused, for that shee had heard that the same man had beene belonging to Walsingham.

Afterward, when the notes out of the letters unto *Mendoza*, which Gurlus had acknowledged that he wrote out in a private character, were read before her, and she was urged out of them, as if she had compassed

compassed to transerre the right
in the Kingdom unto the Spaniard,
and that *Alan* and *Barsons* staid
now at *Rome* for that purpose and
intent: She complaining that her
servants had broken their fidelity
confirmed by oath, answered: *When*
I being in prison, and languished with
care, without hope of liberty, and there
was not any more hope left of ever bring-
ing to passe those things, which very
many expected of me in my sicknesse and
declining age. Many thought it fit that
the Succession of the Realme of Eng-
land should be established in the Spa-
niard, or in a Catholike Englishman:
and a booke was brought to prove the
right of the Spaniard; which being not
admitted by mee, I offended many.
But all my hope in England being now
desperate, I am resolved not to reject
forreine helpe.

The Solicitor admonished the
Commissioners secretly what might
become of them, their Honours,
goods, and posterity, if the King-
dome should be so transferred: but
the

the Treasurer shewed them that the Kingdome of *England* could not be transferred, but to descend by the right of succession according to the Lawes.

She requested that shee might be heard in a full and open Parliament, or that she her selfe might speake to the *Queene* (whom shee hoped would have respect unto a *Queene*) and the Counsellors. And then rising from her seat with a cheerefull countenance, shee spake a few words aside with the Treasurer, *Hatton*, *Walsingham*, and the Earle of *Warwicke*; These things being done, the Assembly or meeting was adjourned unto the five and twentieth day of *October*, in the Starre-chamber at *Westminster*. Thus much of this matter out of the commentaries of *Edward Baker*, principall Register to the *Queenes Majestie*, and of *Thomas Wheeler* a Notarie publicke, Register of the Audience of *Canterburie*, and of other credible persons that were present. And in this

this manner the Queene thought good to have her tried, although the Lawyers, who are so curious in the examining of words, and following of formes, rather than in the expounding of the Lawes themselves, that according to their forme of Law, shee was to be called to triall in the Countie of *Stafford*; and to be brought to hold up her hand at the barre publicly before the Bench, and to be tried by twelve men, saying this indeed was a sweet and goodly forme of judgment against a Prince. But to avoid and put away such absurdities, shee thought it better to referre so great a cause unto the Noblemen of the Land, and Realme, and to the Judges; and this scarce sufficeth, when as (saied shee) all mens eyes are cast upon us Princes, as being set aloft as on a high scaffold, so that in us even the least blemish or spot is scene as farre off, so that we are carefully to provide that wee doe nothing unworthy of our selves.

But.

But to returne where I left : At that day met all the Commissioners (but the Earles of *Sbrensburie* and *Warwicke*, who were then sicke) and after that *Navus* and *Curlus* had affirmed and confirmed before them, that every and singular the letters and copies of letters, which were produced before, to be most true upon their oathes, *viva voce*, voluntarily without hope or reward, the sentence against the *Queene of Scotland* was pronounced and confirmed with the Seales and subscriptions of the Commissioners, and recorded in these words: By their assent, consent and accord, they doe pronounce, give, and say their sentence and judgement, at the day and place last rehearsed, that after the end of the aforesaid Session of Parliament, specified in the aforesaid Commission, viz. after the aforesaid first day of June, in the 27 yeere aforesaid, and before the date of the said Commission, divers things were imagined and compassed within this Realme of England, by
An-

Anthony Babington and others, with the privitie of the said M A R I E, pretending title unto the Crowne of this Realme of England, tending to the hurt, death and destruction of the Royall person of our said Lady, the Queene. And to wit, that after the aforesaid first day of Iune, in the seven and twentieth yeere abovesaid, and before the date of the aforesaid Commission, the said M A R Y pretending title unto the Crowne of this Realme of England, compassed and imagined within this Realm of England divers things tending to the hurt, death, and destruction of the Royal person of our Lady the Queen, against the form of the Statute specified in the aforesaid Commission. Of this sentence which depended wholly on the credit of the Secretaries, neither were they brought face to face, according to the first Statute of the 13 yeere of Queene E L I Z A B E T H her selfe, was very much speech and different amongst men, some judging them unworthy of credit, and others againe thought them worthy

thy to be beleevd. I have scene the Apologie of *Navm* written unto King *James*, in the yeer 1605, in the which he doth laboriously excuse himselfe, in protesting that hee was neither the Author, nor perswader, nor first discoverer of that plot or device, neither that hee failed at all in his dutie through negligence or incircumspection, but rather that he stoutly did impugne the heads of the accusations against his Lady this day. Which thing yet doth not appeare by the publike records. But the same day it was declared by the Commissioners, and by the Judges of the Realme, *That that Sentence did derogate nothing from JAMES King of Scotland in his right or honour, but him to be in the same place, estate and right, as if that Sentence had not bene given at all.*

In a short time after there was a Parliament holden at *Westminster*, in the which the Estates of the Kingdome who had approved and confirmed by their voices the sentence

tence pronounced against the Queene of *Scotland*, by one consent and accord delivered by the Chancellor unto the Queene a supplication, in which they most earnestly besought her, that for the conservation of the true Religion, the tranquillity of the Realme, safety of the Queene, the good estate of them and of their posterity, the sentence given against MARY Queen of *Scotland* according to the Law might be published. They fetcht their reasons from the dangers hanging over the heads of their Religion, her Royall Person, and Realme, by her who nursed up in the Religion of the Papists, and sworne one of the Holy League to root out the Religion of the Protestants, had challenged long the Realme as due to her, and had thought it a most just thing to oppugne a woman excommunicate, and meritorious to deprive her of her life. She had subverted and overthrowne the flourishing families of

of the Realme, and laid fewell unto all plots contrived and tumults in *England*. To spare her, was no other thing but to undoe the people, who will take it in evill part if she be suffered to escape without punishment, and will not beleeve themselves freed from the oath of the *Association*, except she were put to death. Lastly, they called to her remembrance what fearefull examples of Gods punishment there were against King *Saul* for that he killed not *Agag*, and upon *Achab*, for that he killed not *Benadad*. Thus said the States of Parliament.

The *Queene* with a majesticall countenance and voice answered
“ unto this effect : The benefits of
“ Almighty God are so great and
“ so many toward mee, that I doe
“ not only acknowledge them
“ most humbly, but doe admire
“ them as miracles, for as much as
“ I cannot expresse them in words.
“ Although there be no mortal
man

“ man more beholding to the Ma-
“ jesty of God than I my selfe, so
“ oft times delivered from dangers
“ not without miracle; yet I am
“ not indebted more than for this
“ only thing, which I account as
“ a miracle; that is to say, That
“ as I received and tooke upon mee
“ the government of the Realme
“ with the full consent and good
“ will of all, so I see perfectly the
“ same, if not your greater love
“ and good will, toward me, after
“ that XXVIII. yeeres be ex-
“ pired; and if I should faile therein
“ now, and that it did not con-
“ tinue still, I might perchance be
“ perceived to breathe, but surely
“ not to live. But now although at-
“ tempts be made against my life,
“ neverthelesse nothing troubleth
“ me more, than that shee who is
“ of the same sex, of the same stocke
“ and lineage, and also of my bloud
“ and kindred, hath bin accessory
“ to the same. And I am so farre
“ off from being malicious toward
her,

“ her, as that when some plots
 “ against mee came to light, I
 “ wrote unto her, that if she would
 “ confesse them in her private let-
 “ ters unto mee, they should bee
 “ wrapped up in silence. Neither
 “ did I write thus with this mind,
 “ to insuare her, for that what-
 “ soever she could confesse, was
 “ knowne to me. Yet neverthe-
 “ lesse though things are come to
 “ this passe that they are, if shee
 “ would truly repent, and that
 “ none would undertake her cause
 “ against mee, and that hereupon
 “ my life only, and not the safe-
 “ ty of all the people did depend
 “ (I would not have you thinke I
 “ faine) I would truly most wil-
 “ lingly forgive her: yea if *Eng-
 “ land* by my death might flourish
 “ more, and have a better Prince,
 “ I would most readily lay downe
 “ my life; for I doe desire not to
 “ live, but for the good of the peo-
 “ ple, and not of my selfe. Nei-
 “ ther is there any cause, having
 li-

“ lived in that manner as I have,
“ why I should desire to live, or
“ feare to die. I am not ignorant
“ of all kinde of lifes, for I have o-
“ beyed, and I have governed; I
“ have had good neighbours, and
“ also evill; I have found treache-
“ ric where I trusted: I have e-
“ vill bestowed benefits, and I have
“ beene evill reported of when I
“ have done well. When I call these
“ things past to minde, see and be-
“ hold the things present, and ex-
“ pect future things, I thinke them
“ most happie who die soone: a-
“ gainst such evils as these I put on
“ a manly minde, that whatsoever
“ befall unto me, death may not
“ take and finde me unprovided.

“ As concerning these treasons, I
“ will not so prejudicate my selfe,
“ or the lawes of my Kingdome,
“ that I doe not thinke, but that
“ free the author and contriver of
“ this treason is a subject, and lia-
“ ble by the ancient lawes, al-
“ though this new law had never
beene

“ beene made; the which never-
“ thelesse was not enacted directly
“ to entrap her, as many folkes that
“ favour her doe suspect and ima-
“ gine. It was so farre off from be-
“ ing made to insnare her, that it
“ was rather done to premonish
“ and deterre her from attempting
“ any thing against it. And since
“ that it hath the force of a law, it
“ was thought meet to proceed a-
“ gainst her by the same. But you
“ Lawyers be so curious & precise
“ in examining the words and let-
“ ters of the law, and following
“ your formalities, rather than in
“ the expounding the lawes them-
“ selves, that by your formes shee
“ was (as is said before) within
“ the Countie of *Stafford* in per-
“ son to be arraigned, standing at
“ the barre, and holding up her
“ hand, and to bee tried by the
“ verdict of twelve men. Assuredly
“ it were a goodly forme of judge-
“ ment upon a Prince. To avoid
“ such like absurdities, I thought

T

it

“ it most fit to referre so great a
“ cause to be examined by the No-
“ bilitie and Judges; and this is
“ scarce sufficient, for that the
“ eyes of all men are fixed on us
“ that are Princes, standing aloft
“ (as it were) on a Theater or
“ Stage, and in us the least blemish
“ is seene, be it never so farre off:
“ so that wee are very carefull to
“ provide and beware that wee
“ commit and doe nothing unwor-
“ thy of our selves. But you by this
“ new law have brought mee into
“ a very great strait, that I should
“ set downe the determination for
“ the punishment of her, who is a
“ Princeesse most neere to mee in
“ bloud, and whose attempts and
“ plots have so grieved my heart,
“ that not to increase it by hearing
“ the same rehearsed, I willingly ab-
“ sented my selfe from this assembly
“ of Parliament, and not for feare of
“ some lying in wait to kill mee, as
“ some imagine: yet I will utter
“ this secret (though I be no blab)

“ I saw with these eyes, and read
 “ the oath wherein some have
 “ bound themselves to kill mee
 “ within a moneth space. From
 “ hence I foresee your danger, and
 “ I will take a great care to refell
 “ the same.

“ Your Association for my safe-
 “ ty I have not forgotten, yet I ne-
 “ ver so much as thought of such a
 “ thing before rhe same was shew-
 “ ed mee under their hands and
 “ seales. The same hath tied mee
 “ unto you in strong bonds of good
 “ will for your love unto me, who
 “ seeke for no other solace and
 “ comforts than from the love of
 “ you, and of the common-wealth.
 “ But forasmuch as the matter
 “ which is now treated of, is sel-
 “ dome seene, and for that there be
 “ few examples thereof, and is a
 “ matter of very great moment, I
 “ intreat you not to expect that I
 “ should make an answer and set
 “ down my certaine determination,
 “ for it is my use and custome even

“ in smaller matters, to be advised
 “ agood space in things which are
 “ but once to be determined. I will
 “ desire earnestly Almighty God to
 “ power the shining beames of his
 “ light into my minde, that I may
 “ perfectly see and behold what
 “ may be best for the good and pro-
 “ fit of the Church, the Common-
 “ wealth, and your safety. Yet lest
 “ delay may bring danger, I will
 “ in convenient time signifie unto
 “ you what my minde is.

And so the twelfth day after,
 when shee had considered more ad-
 visedly on the matter, shee, as it
 were, in her doubtfull minde di-
 stracted, and not able to resolve
 what to doe, requested them (sen-
 ding the Chancellor unto the No-
 bilitie, and *Puckering* unto them
 of the Lower house) more dili-
 gently to advise and consult of so
 weighty a matter againe, and to de-
 vise some more wholsome remedy,
 whereby the life of the Queene of
Scotland might be spared, and her
 se-

securitie procured.

When they had deliberated and consulted much, and a long time, and had judged both the good and the evill of the Prince to concerne all men, they fall againe to the same opinion with one voyce, and for these causes : For that the *Queene* could not be in safety, as long as the *Queene* of Scotland lived, except she repented seriously, and acknowledged her crimes, or else was tyed and kept in a strayer prison, and with deeds of writing under her hand, or by oath, or should give hostages, or depart out of the Realme. They hoped for no repentance in her, since that shee had evill requited the *Queene*, who had given her life unto her, and had not yet acknowledged her crimes. They held and accounted straiter custody, writings under her hand, oath and hostages as nothing, for as much as these things vanished in smoake, presently as soon as the *Queene* was dead or made away; but if shee departed out of the Realme, they feared shee would forth-with ad-

vance her Standards to invade the Kingdome. When the Chancellor, and Puckering, Speaker of the Lower house, had declared these things at large, urging to have the sentence put in execution, For as much as it was injustice to deny the execution of law, if it were to any one of her subjects that desired it, much more to all the Englishmen efflagitating it so much with one voyce and one heart. Unto whom the Queene made a Speech in this manner.

“ That journey is very grievous
 “ by the which both whilest it is
 “ going, and when it is ended, no-
 “ thing is gotten but trouble and
 “ vexation. I am very much trou-
 “ bled and vexed this very day,
 “ as much as at any time, whether
 “ I should speake or hold my
 “ tongue : If I shall speake and not
 “ complaine, surely I shall faime ;
 “ If I hold my tongue, your la-
 “ bour is lost ; but if I complaine,
 “ it may seeme strange : yet I con-
 “ fesse, I have much wished that
 for

“for your security, and withall
“for my safety, some other way
“might have beene devised, than
“that which is now propounded.
“So that I cannot but complaine
“before you, though not of you,
“since that I understand by your
“petitions, that my safety de-
“pendeth wholly on the death of
“another. If any thinke that I
“have prolonged the time, to
“procure vaine-gloriously the
“commendation of clemencie,
“they doe me much wrong, which
“thing God who searcheth the
“secrets of all mens hearts, know-
“eth best. If there be any that
“thinke that the Commissioners
“durst not pronounce any other
“sentence, lest they should seeme
“to displease me, or to have beene
“carelesse of my safety, they
“wrong mee exceedingly ; for
“either my servants failed in do-
“ing their duty, or else they fig-
“nified on my behalfe unto the
“Commissioners that my will was

“ and that I commanded that every
“ one should doe freely according
“ as they thought in their mindes,
“ and that they should privatly
“ impart unto mee those things
“ which they would not utter
“ publikely. It was out of my a-
“ bundant good will toward her,
“ to desire to have another course
“ or meanes devised for this mis-
“ chiefe. But now since it is most
“ certaine, that I and my safety
“ are in a deplorable estate, ex-
“ cept shee be rid and made away,
“ I am sorry at my heart, that I
“ who have pardoned and given
“ life to so many Rebels, and have
“ neglected so many Treasons, by
“ conniving or holding my peace,
“ may seeme now at the length to
“ use crueltie and severity toward
“ so great a Prince. Since the
“ time I came unto the Crowne,
“ I have seene many Libels scatte-
“ red abroad against me, as against a
“ Tyrant : God send the writers of
“ them good luck. I beleeve that
they

“ they would say some new things,
 “ and truly it seemeth strange to
 “ mee, to be noted for a Tyrant, I
 “ wish it were as strange to heare
 “ of their impiety.

“ What will not they publish in
 “ their writings, when they shall
 “ heare that I have consented, that
 “ the hang-man shall embrue his
 “ hands in the blond of my next
 “ Cousin ? I am so farre from
 “ crueltie, that to conserve my
 “ life, I would not use any vio-
 “ lence against her, neither have
 “ I beene so carefull to lengthen
 “ out mine owne life, as I have
 “ laboured to conserve the life of
 “ us both, and I am immeasurably
 “ sorry that now it cannot be
 “ done. I am not so voyd of wit,
 “ but that I see the dangers that be
 “ neere me, nor of that peevish
 “ folly, to whet and sharpen the
 “ sword wherewith to have my
 “ throat cut, nor of that carelesse
 “ sloth, that I will not stirre to
 “ save mine owne life. But I ma-

“ gine this thing with my selfe,
“ that there be many who will put
“ their lives in danger to save the
“ life of their Prince, of whose
“ number yet I doe not professe
“ my selfe to be. These things I
“ have considered in my minde,
“ But since that many have written
“ and spoken bitterly against mee,
“ let it be lawfull for me to make
“ an Apologie for my selfe, that
“ you may see for the safety of
“ what woman you have taken so
“ much paine. As I doe make a
“ thankfull remembrance of your
“ vigilancie and watchfulnesse;
“ so I cannot, nor shall not give
“ you equall thanks, if I had as
“ many lives left as every one of
“ you have.

“ As soone as I tooke the Crown
“ on me, not forgetting God the
“ giver thereof, I began my
“ Reigne with his worship and
“ Religion, in the which I was
“ brought up, and in which, as
“ I hope, I shall dye: though I be
not

“ not ignorant what dangers en-
“ vironed me at home for the alte-
“ ration of Religion, and what
“ potent Kings of the other pro-
“ fession abroad, shewed them-
“ selves my enemies; yet neverthe-
“ lesse I was not moved : for I
“ knew that God, whom I chiefly
“ respected, would defend me and
“ my cause. Upon this proceeded
“ and grew so many plots and
“ conspiracies against mee, that
“ I might have wondered how I
“ should escape, if God had not
“ holpen me beyond my hope.
“ Then that I might make greater
“ progresse in the art of Govern-
“ ment, I studied much and long
“ what things were the fit parts
“ for a King, and I found out by
“ search, that it was very necessi-
“ ry that they should be furnished
“ with those Cardinall vertues,
“ *Justice, Temperance, Prudence,*
“ *and Fortitude.*
“ My sex doth not permit me to
“ arrogate unto my selfe these two
“ latter,

“ latter, which belong properly
 “ unto men, but of the former and
 “ the milder vertues (as I may
 “ call them) I dare say this with-
 “ out vantery, I have kept the
 “ highest and lowest in awe alike,
 “ I have raised no man whom I
 “ have not thought worthy, I
 “ have not beene credulous of be-
 “ leefe in hearing tales, I have not
 “ corrupted Judgement with a
 “ fore-judgement, without hearing
 “ the cause ; yet I cannot say, but
 “ that many things may be told me
 “ as truth, upon the too much
 “ partiality of the parties, *For a*
 “ *good and wary Prince is often sold,*
 “ for that he cannot heare all
 “ things himselfe : But this I can
 “ averre and avow for truth, Ac-
 “ cording to my capacity, I have
 “ alwayes made Judgement sub-
 “ ject unto Truth. As there was
 “ one who admonished his friend
 “ to make no answer unto a que-
 “ stion, before he recited the
 “ Alphabet ; so I did never de-
 termine

“ termine any thing rashly and in
“ haste.

“ Therefore, as concerning
“ your consultations and advices,
“ I acknowledge them to be stu-
“ died, provident and whole-
“ some for my better conservation,
“ and to grow and proceed from
“ your hearts, both sincere and
“ most devoted unto me, so that
“ it is my part to strive with all
“ my power, not to seeme, or to
“ be ingrate unto them that de-
“ serve so well at my hands. And
“ as concerning your Petition, I
“ beseech and request you that
“ you will be content with an an-
“ swer without an answer. I ap-
“ prove your judgement, I con-
“ ceive your reasons, yet I pray
“ you excuse the doubtfull care of
“ studying and considering in this
“ businesse which tormenteth me.
“ Take in good part my most
“ thankfull minde unto you, and
“ also this answer, if you thinke
“ it an answer. If I shall say that

“ I will not doe that which you
 “ request, perhaps I shall say that
 “ which I doe not thinke : but if
 “ I shall say I will doe it, I shall
 “ precipitate my selfe, whom you
 “ wish to be conserued, into ut-
 “ ter destruction : which thing
 “ I assuredly know in your wise-
 “ dome you would not, if you
 “ consider thorowly the places,
 “ the times, and the manners of
 “ men. After these things done,
 “ the Assembly of the Estates of
 “ Parliament was prorogued.

About the same time the Lord
Buckhurst and *Beale* are sent to the
 Queene of *Scotland* to signifie the
 sentence given against her, and
 that the same as most iust was ap-
 proved and confirmed by the au-
 thoritie of Parliament, and that the
 States did very much urge the same
 in reason of *Iustice*, *Securitie*, and
Necessitie ; and therefore should
 perswade her that acknowledging
 her sinnes against God and the
 Queene, she might by this repen-
 tance

tance before her death, purge and cleanse her from her finnes ; insinuating, that as long as she lived the Religion received in *England* could not stand firme. Hereupon she with an unwonted alacrity and cheerefulnesse seemed to triumph, giving thanks to God, and rejoicing to her selfe, that she was accounted an instrument for the re-establishment of Religion in this Island : And vehemently besought them that she might have a Catholike Priest to direct her conscience and administer the Sacraments : and utterly rejected the Bishop and Deane, whom they commended as fit men for that purpose, and gave the English nation a bitter taunt, in saying oftentimes, *that the Englishmen had used crueltie towards their Kings in killing them now and then, so that now it was not strange, if also they exercised tyrannie on me borne and come also of their blood.*

L' aubespineux the French Embassador stopped and stayed a little the

the publication of the judgement; but some Courtiers diligently labouring in it, in the moneth of December it was publikely proclaimed thorow the City of *London*, the Maior, the Aldermen, and principall Citizens being present, and afterward thorow all the Realme. In the preface the Queene did in earnest manner protest that this Proclamation was wrung out and extorted from her, not without great anxiety of mind, by great necessitie, and the most vehement obtestations of the Estates of the Realme, though there were some who thought this to be spoken by a womans policie, who desire to seeme alwayes to doe that which they doe by coaction, though they desire it never so much.

The divulging of this direfull and dolefull Proclamation being told unto the Queene of *Scotland*, shee was so farre off from being dejected, that rather with a resolved and stayed countenance she gave thanks

thanks unto God, with lifting up her hands unto heaven. And although *Powlet* her Keeper deprived her of all dignity and respect, and she was no more accounted of but as a meane woman of the basest ranke, yet she endured it with a most quiet minde. But having gotten leave of him with too much adoe, by letters unto *Queene ELIZABETH* dated the nineteenth day of December, *shee* declareth her selfe free from all malice and hatefull minde against her, giveth thanks unto God for that sentence of death, who would have the end of her sorrowfull life to come. She intreateth her that *shee* may be obliged and beholden unto her only, and not unto others, for these benefits that follow, since that she could expect and looke for no good from the hot-minded Puritans, who carried all awry in England. First, that when her enemies were glutted and satisfied with the shedding of her innocent blood, that her body may be carried by her servants to be buried in some beloved

loved ground, especially into France,
 where her mother resteth in peace ; since
 that violence hath beene offered unto the
 ashes of her forefathers and ancestors in
 Scotland, and the Churches either
 pulled downe or prophaned ; neither
 could she hope for a buriall with Catho-
 like rites in England, amongst the an-
 cient Kings the ancestors to both of
 them : so that at last her body may rest,
 which conjoynd to her soule did never
 rest nor had quiet. The second war
 (forasmuch as shee feared the secret
 villanie of many men) that she might
 not be put to death secretly: without the
 knowledge of **Queene ELIZA-**
BETH, but in the presence of her ser-
 vants and others, who might be true
 witnesses of her faith toward Christ, her
 obedience to the Church, and the end of
 her life, against the false rumours which
 her adversaries might spread and de-
 vise. The third was, that her servants
 might freely and peaceably depart, and
 might goe whither they would, and en-
 joy the legacies shee had bequeathed un-
 to them in her Testament. These
 things

things she requested very earnestly in the name of Iesus Christ, by the soule & memory of HENRY the seventh, progenitor to them both, by the royall honour that she had borne. Then she complained, that all royall furniture was violently taken away by the commandment of some of her Counsellors, and forebode that their malice would breake out unto greater matters. And addeth, if they had shewen the letters and papers taken away, without fraud and sincerely, that it would have plainly appeared, that there was no other cause of her death, than the too scrupulous care of some men of the security of *Queene ELIZABETH*. Lastly, she earnestly desired her to write a few words with her owne hand concerning these matters. But whether these letters came ever to the hands of *Queene ELIZABETH*, I cannot say.

But sundry men talked in sundry manners according to their sundry wits, of this matter; not to speake of the Clergy men of both sides, who are for the most part vehement

vehement in their opinions.

There were some plaine and indifferent weighers of matters, who thought they dealt very rigorously with her, for that she was a free and absolute Princeesse, above whom none had any authority but God alone, for that she was so very neere of kinne unto Queene ELIZABETH, who also had promised very liberally in the word of a Prince, unto her driven out of her Realme, as soone as she was arrived in *England*, by *Henry Middlemore*, all humanitie, courtesie, and rights of hospitalitie; and yet on the other side had deteined her in prison, and had violated the sacred bonds of friendly familiaritie. That she could be in no other estate than of one taken in the war, and that all the meanes of getting safety and libertie is lawfull to them that be taken in the warre. That she could not offend in the case of treason, in that she was no subject, and the like hath no power

power over the like ; and that thereupon the judgement of the Emperour against *Robert King of Sicilie* was voyd and of none effect, for that he was not subject unto the Empire. That the Embassadors of Princes, if they shall conspire against the King unto whom they are sent Embassadors, are not touched as Traytors, much lesse the Princes themselves. And that the Affect is not to be punished, except the Effect follow. And it was never heard that a Prince was put to death by the hand of an executioner. Moreover, that she was condemned against the Law of God, the Civill Law of the *Romans*, and the Lawes of *England* ; yea, against the first Statute of the Parlament in the XIII. yeere of Queene *ELIZABETH* her selfe, in the which it was enacted, that none should be arraigned for conspiring against the *Queenes* life, but by the testimonie and oath of two lawfull witnesses, to be brought forth face to face against

against the partie arraigned : and in this judgement no witnesse was produced, but shee was oppressed and cast by the testimony of her Secretaries, who were absent. Men also disputed of both parts of the credit of servants, men in prison, and the testimony of them of ones household. And that word of the Emperour Hadrian was commended, *Credit is to be given unto witnesse, and not unto testimonies.* These men also to themselves, or their assured friends, complained, that busie fellowes were suborned, who by dissimulation, counterfeit letters, and contrived devices, had cunningly deceived a woman easie to be wronged, and greedy of liberty, spied out and prevented her purposes, and had drawne her into the worser, which she had never thought on, if she had beene kept with sitting care, and such like secret and craftie plotters sent on purpose : That it is an ordinary thing for Courtiers in all ages, to
urge

urge and drive them that be hated, even against their will, into the crime of Treason, and craftily to breed trouble unto unwary Innocence that is once imprisoned.

There were others who thought shee was not a free and absolute, but only a Titulary *Queene*, because shee had made a Session, and passed away her Kingdome to her sonne, and had submitted her selfe unto the protection of the *Queene of England*, when shee came first into *England*, and as by well doing she had and enjoyed the benefit of the Lawes ; so in doing evill, she might be subject unto the equity of the same lawes, according unto that saying of the Lawyers, *Hee that offendeth against the Law, deserveth not the benefit of the Law.* Otherwise, the condition of a Forraine Prince, offending in the Realme of another Prince, should be better than the condition of a King reigning well. They also thought her to be a Subject, although

though not *Originary*, yet *Temporary*, for that two absolute Kings, (as concerning Royall authoritie) cannot be at one time in one Kingdome. That this is a received and ruled opinion of the Lawyers, *The King out of his Territory* (except it be in a voyage of warre) *is a private man, and therefore can neither bestow nor exercise any Regalities.* Moreover, that she hath lost by her fault absolute Government, and that subjects even in *their habitation or house* may commit treason. And as for kindred, there is no Alliance neerer unto any one, than their Countrey, that is to be unto us another God, and our prime and dearest Parent. And as for the promises of humanitie and courteous entertainment promised, that they be not privileges to commit wicked facts afterwards without punishment. That promises are to be understood, *Things remaining in the same state, and not changed.* He that hath committed a fault, deserveth

serveth not to enjoy the securitie promised : And indeed that the law and right of a guest entertained are holy, but that the right of our Country is more sacred : Princes doe never binde their owne hands, and that all are bound and obliged more strongly unto their Countrey, than to their owne promise.

And if she were to be dealt withall as with one taken in the war, they objected, I know not out of what Author, *These captives are only to be spared, from whom we doe not feare any vexation or trouble, and not any others.* That the equall hath power upon the equall, as often as hee doth submit himielfe unto the judgement of his equall, either exprestly in words, or covertly in contractation, or in offending within the jurisdiction of his equall. That the *Pope* did adnull and abrogate the sentence of the Emperour against *Robert King of Sicilia*, for that the fact was not committed in the Territorie of the Emperour, but in the Dominion of the *Pope*. That Amba-

V bas-

balladours, because of the necessity of Ambassades, are favoured and allowed to be inviolate by the law of Nations, but not Kings practising in the Dominions of another King. Furthermore, that in treason the affect without the effect is to be punished. And that to plot to kill the Prince, yea to know it, and to conceale the plot, is accounted treason. That many Kings have beene condemned and put to death, namely *Rhescuporis* King of *Thracia*, by *Tyberius*; *Lycinius*, and *Maximianus*, by *Constantine* the Great; *Bernard* King of *Italy*, *Conradinus* King of *Sicily*, &c. Moreover, which may stand in stead of all, That the safety of the people is the chiefeſt law, and that no law is more ſacred than the ſafety and welfare of the Common-wealth. That God himſelfe hath enacted this law, that all things that were for the good, profit, and benefit of the Common-wealth, ſhould be accounted lawfull and juſt. Moreover, that Secretaries were not to be

bee reckoned amongst bond-men, and that the testimonie of ones household is to bee received about those things which were done secretly at home. But it was argued more narrowly, whether accusers voluntarily sworne, and accessary in criminall matters are to be produced face to face, to defend and prove their accusation. Lastly, it was granted that there is no great example extant, which hath not some iniquitie therein. These and such like were debated and argued to and fro in every mans mouth.

In the meane time the King of Scotland, so great was his pietie unto his mother, laboured all that possibly he could by *William Keith*, neither did hee omit any thing fit for a good and pious sonne, and a most prudent King, but with no successe at all, forasmuch as the Scots were torne in pieces with factions amongst themselves, & more favoured *QUEENE ELIZABETH* than the captive *Queene*, inso-

much that many of them did privily sollicite Queene ELIZABETH by their letters, to hasten her punishment, and the *Scottish* Ministers being commanded by the King to commend the safety of his mother unto God, in their prayers, in all their Churches; such was the hatred unto the Religion shee professed, that they obstinately refused so to doe: yet hee, as he had before with often messengers, and almost continuall letters, made request unto the Queene. Now he plied her exceedingly, with more often and most vehement messages and letters: In which hee complained, *That it was most unjust and unfit for the Nobility, Counsellors, and Subjects of England, to give sentence upon a Queene of Scotland, and she borne of the Royall blood of England, and a thing no lesse unjust even but to thinke that the Parliamentarie Estates of England, by their authority, had power to exclude the true and certaine Heires of their right of succession and lawfull inheritance* (which
 many

many men now and then threatned to feare him.)

Hee sent also Patrike Gray, and Robert Melvin, who signified to the *Queene*, That hee, for the great love and familiaritie betweene them, cannot beleve, but she would conserve her famous renomme, shee had acquired in every place by her vertues, but especially by her clemency, unspotted without all stain of cruelty, and would not by any meanes defile and pollute the same with the bloud of his mother, who was of the same Royall condition, of the same bloud, and of the same sex, and she which hee (forasmuch as the bloud of the mother did possesse in him a great reverence) could not leave unto the tyranny of them, who for a long time since have thirsted for the destruction of him, as well as for his mothers destruction now.

In other letters, after hee had at large discoursed, how hee was grieved and tormented in minde, and distracted, concerning so great a matter that touched and bound him both in respect of nature and honour, and into what danger and

losse of credit he was cast, if any
 violence was used unto his mother,
 he out of his inward griefe and fili-
 all affection propounded unto
 Queene ELIZABETH, where-
 upon shee might study attentively,
 How much it concerneth his Honour,
 who is both a King and her Sonne, if
 his most deare mother, and the same al-
 so an absolute Prince, should be put
 to an infamous death by her, who is most
 neerely joyned by the bands of blood and
 league. Whether by the law of God any
 thing may be done justly by force of law
 unto them, whom Almighty God hath
 appointed the soveraigne Ministers of
 Justice, whom hee hath called Gods on
 the earth, whom hee hath annointed,
 and being annointed, forbade to bee
 touched, will hee suffer them to be viola-
 ted without punishment? How pro-
 digious a thing it is to subject an abso-
 lute Prince unto the judgement of Sub-
 jects; yea how monstrous a thing it
 were, than an absolute Prince should
 give first this pernicious example, to
 prophane their owne and other Princes
 Dicdems? Moreover what should urge
 her

her unto this *soveritie, Honour or Profit?* If Honour, she might acquire more honour by sparing her, for so with the eternall praise of clemency, she might binde him and all the *Princes of Christendome* with a benefit, whom otherwise she could not but alienate, with losse of her good report, and marke of cruelty. But if *Utility* moved her, she was to consider whether any thing can be profitable, but that which is just and honest. And ended beseeching her, that his Ambassadors might bring backe such an answer, that may be most worthy of a most pitifull *Queene*, and not unworthy of the King and her most loving Cousin. But when as the Ambassadors out of season mingled threats amongst their requests, they were lesse acceptable, and sent away within few daies with very small hope.

Pomponius Bellicarius, who was sent by the French King for the same cause, when he was come unto the *Queene*, having in his company *L'ambassadeur of Castro Novo*, the ordinary Ambassador, and had in few words signified how

the French King was distracted on this side, for his singular love toward her, and on that side, for the strait familiarity and affinity betwene him and the Queen of Scotland, he propounded in writing these things and the like, once or twice.

The most Christian King of France, and all other Kings are interested, that a Queene, and free and absolute Princesse be not put to death.

The safety of the Queene may be more endangered by the death, than by the life of MARY: that shee being delivered out of prison, can attempt nothing against the Queene, for that shee was sickly, and could not live long.

That shee challenged and claimed the Kingdome of England, was not to be laid to her charge as a fault, but was to be ascribed to the tenderneſſe of her age, and her naughty counsellors.

That shee came into England to intreat helpe and favour, and therefore shee lesse justly detained, and that now at length shee was to be let loose upon some

ransome agreed upon, or else to have mercy used to her. Moreover, that an absolute Prince is not to be called in question of his life, insomuch that Cicero said, It is so unusuall for a King to be arraigned, that it is a thing never heard before this time.

If shee be innocent, then shee is not to be put to death; if faultie, to be spared, for this would prove more to her honour and utilitie, and it should be the eternall example of the clemencie of England. To this intent the history of Porfenna was rehearsed, who pulled the hand of Mutius Scevola, who had conspired to kill him, out of the flames of fire, and dismissed him.

That the first precept of reigning well, is to spare blood, that blood calleth for blood, that it cannot be otherwise thought but to be cruell and bloody to use tyranny toward her.

That the French King will doe all his labour, and use all diligence, that the attempts and endeavours of all that plot any thing against the Queene, may be repressed and stopped: And that the Guises, the kinsmen of the Queene of

Scotland, would sweare the same, and confirme it with their hands and seales, who, if she be put to death, will take it in very evill part, and perhaps will not suffer it to be revenged.

Lastly they requested that she should not be used according to that rigorous and extraordinary judgement, if not, that the French King could not but take it in very evill part, and be much offended, howsoever all other Princes may take it.

Unto these writings answer was made in the margin unto every article thus :

That the Queene of England doth hope, that the most Christian King of France will have no lesse regard and respect unto her, than unto the Scottish Queene, who plotted to kill an innocent Prince, her next Cousin, and the Kings confederate. And that it is behovefull unto Kings and Commonwealths, that mischievous actions (specially against Princes) be not left unpunished.

Thus the Englishmen, who acknowledge

ledge only *Queene* ELIZABETH to be Supreme Governour in England, cannot at once acknowledge two Soveraignes, free and absolute Princesses in England: neither that any other whomsoever, whilest shee lived, was to be taken as equall with her. Neither could they see how the Scottish *Queene* and her sonne that now reigneth can be accounted at one time Soveraigne and absolute Princes.

Whether that the *Queenes* safety may be exposed unto greater dangers, if shee be put to death; dependeth upon contingencie and uncertainty hereafter; that the Estates of England, who have studied seriously on this point, thinke otherwise, to wit, that there will never want occasions of plotting mischiefs during her life, especially for that matters are now come to that passe, that there is no hope left for the other, except the other be extinguished or taken away; and this sentence may come often to mind. Either I her, or shee mee. The shorter her life is, with the more speed the conspirators for this cause will accelerate and hasten the execution of her plots.

That

That shee would not hitherto renounce and give over the right she claimeth and challengeth unto the Realm of England, and that for that cause shee hath bene most rightfully detained in prison, and is still to be detained (although shee came for succour and help into England) untill shee have renounced and given over the same : And that shee ought to sustaine punishment for the faults she hath committed in prison, for what cause soever shee was put into prison.

That the Queen also hath pardoned her most mercifully, when shee was condemned by the consent of all the Estates for the Rebellion raised in the North, to make the marriage betwene her and the Duke of Norfolke, and to spare her againe were a fond & cruel kind of mercy. That none are ignorant of that saying of the Lawyers: An offender in the territory of another, and there found, is punished in the place where the fault is committed, without any regard or respect of dignity, honour, or privilege. And that the same is evident as well by the Lawes of England, as also by the examples of Licinius, Robert King

King of Sicilie, Bernard King of Italy, Conradinus, of Elizabeth Queene of Hungary, of Joan Queen of Naples, and of Dejotarus, for whom Cicero pleading, said it was not unjust for the King to bee arraigned, though it were unusuall. For the words goe thus; Quod primum dico decapite fortunisque Regis: Quod ipsum et si non iniquum est, in tuo duntaxat periculo, tamen est ita inusitatū, &c.

That see, who hath beene found guiltie by a lawfull judgement, is to be put unto execution, for as much as that which is just is honest, and that which is honest is also profitable.

That the History of Porfenna did not agree unto this matter proposed, except one should think that there is a long train of them who seeke to hurt the Queen, and could perswade her to dismisse her without any hurt, out of feare, and some little respect of honour, but no regard of her owne safety: as Porfenna sent Mutius away, when hee had avowed that there were other three hundred who had conspired to kil him. Moreover that Mutius ventur'd upon Porfenna in a war
pro-

proclaimed, and by the sending of Mutius away, he perswaded and assured himselfe, that he had escaped all danger.

Bloud is to be spared, that is, the innocent. God commanded this: It is true, that the voice of bloud crieth for bloud, and that France, before the massacre of Paris, and afterward, can witnesse this.

That a punishment justly inflicted, cannot be thought to be bloody, no more than a medicine, prepared and made as it ought, fitly for the sicknesse, can be accounted violent.

Howsoever the Guises, consents unto the Scottish Queene, take it, the Queene hath more occasion, and it concernes her more, to respect and regard rather the safety and good of her Nobility and people of whose love she wholly dependeth, than the displeasure of any other whosoever, and that matters were now come unto that passe, that that old proverbe of the two Princes, Conrading the Sicilian, and Charles of Anjou, may be used and truly said of the two Queenes, THE DEATH OF MARIE, THE

LIFE

LIFE OF ELIZABETH, AND
THE LIFE OF MARIE,
DEATH OF ELIZABETH.

That the promises of the French King and of the Guises, cannot give assurance of securitie unto the Queene and the Realme, much lesse make amends for her death, if she be made away.

That the French King cannot finde out the secret plots contrived against him at home, much lesse against the Queene of England. For that treason is closely bandled, and therefore inevitable and unavoidable. If the wicked fact be once done, what will it doe good to challenge their promise? How may the losse for the death of an incomparable Prince be repaired or recompenced, and what remedy may be found for the Republique giving up the ghost with her, in a most lamentable confusion of all things.

The band-writings of the Guises, who thinke it a meritorious act to dispute them who are enemies to the Pope, and may very easily obtaine and get dispensations for their oaths, be of small moment, or importance, or of none at all. And what English man is it that will accuse them

them for killing the Queene ELIZABETH after her death, and after that the Queene of Scotland being of the Family of the Guises, is enstalled in the Crowne of England? What? can one recall her back unto life thereby?

But in that the Ambassadors have called this judgement rigorous and extraordinary, they have said it without due consideration (for as much as they have neither scene the processe nor the probations) and have too bitterly taxed the Estates of the Realme of England, men of great account, chosen for their nobility, vertue, prudence and piety: yea moreover, that they have absolutely spoken such like words, as if they came from the French King, very inconsiderately, making shew that they would feare with their threats and menaces, the Queene, & the Estates of the Realme. That the English-men are not accustomed to be terrified with threats of the French-men, from taking a course and meanes to establish & settl their security, for as much as they in the meane time did not shew nor demonstrate any fit or convenient way or meanes of averting or putting away the instant

instant and imminent dangers of England.

But the malicious and spightfull enemies of the *Queene of Scotland*, tooke occasions all they could of hastening her death, and caused (the more to affright *Queene ELIZABETH*, knowing well that in the greatest danger of safety, feare doth exclude all mercy) false rumours to be spread in every place of *England* daily, with fearefull out-cryes, viz. *That the Spanish Fleet were already arrived in the Haven of Milford, that the Scots had invaded England, that the Duke of Guise was landed with a strong army in Suffex, that the Queene of Scotland was escaped out of prison, and had levied many souldiers, that the Northborne men were up in rebellion, that there were other Ruffians, who had conspired to kill the Queene, and to burne the City of London, yea and that the Queene was dead, and other things of like kinde, which either crafty people, or men afraid, use to faine in their owne conceits, or to increase out of an inbred desire or*
humour,

humour, to nourish and uphold rumors; and Princes, who are upon curiosity credulous, take quickly hold of.

By such like bugges and formidable arguments, the Queenes minde wavering, and in great care, was by them drawne so farre, that shee signed letters, by which the mortall sentence of death was commanded to be put in execution, and one of the chiefeſt perſwader (as the *Scots* ſay) was *Patrick Gray*, a *Scot*, ſent by the King of *Scotland* to diſſwade the Queene from putting his mother to death, who oftentimes would beat into the Queenes eares that old word (*Dead men doe not bite.*)

But ſhee being by nature ſlow in her doings, began to ballance in her minde, whether it were better to take her out of the way, or to ſpare her. Not to put her to death, theſe things moved her: Her inbred clemencie, leſt ſhe ſhould ſeeme to uſe cruelty againſt a woman, and ſhee a Princeſſe, and alſo her kinſwoman, feare

of

of infancy with the posterity out of the histories, and the dingers hanging thereon, as well from the King of Scotland, who should then come a step neerer unto the hope of England, as from the Catholike Princes, and desperate fellows, who then would adventure on any thing.

But if shee spared her, she foresaw no lesse dangers at hand. That the Noblemen, who had given sentence against the Queene of Scotland, would closely purchase favour with her, and her sonne, not without her danger, that the rest of her subjects that were very carefull and desirous of her safety, would take it in evill part, when they saw themselves to have lost their labour, and thenceforth would neglect her safetie; many more would joyne themselves unto the profession of the Papistes, and conceive greater hope, when they saw her conserved, as it were, by the decree of heaven, unto the hope of the Kingdome; that the Jesuits and Seminarists, when they see her sickly, and feare shee will not live long, would bestirre themselves to accelerate the death of Queene ELIZABETH,

BETH, that their Religion may bee restored.

The Courtiers also without any intermission, suggested these things and the like. *Why dost thou spare her that is faulty and justly condemned, who subscribed unto the Association for thy safety, yet forthwith resolved to use cruelty against thee, being innocent, and by thy destruction, to tyrannize over Religion, the Nobility and Commons? That mercy is a royall vertue, but is not to be shewed to them that have no mercy. Let the vaine and idle shew of mercy give place, and yeeld unto wholesome severity. Your clemencie hath sufficient cause of commendation in that it hath pardoned her once before: to spare her againe, is no other thing but to pronounce her not guiltie, and to condemne the Estates of the Realme of injustice; to encourage the hearts of her agents to hasten and accelerate the accomplishment of their wicked designs, and to dishearten the faithfull Subjects to conserve the Common-wealth. Religion, the Common-wealth, thy owne incolumity, the love of thy Countrey, the oath of*

of Association, and the care of the
Posterity, with conjoyned prayers doe
beseech thee, that shee who overbroweth
and subverteth all these severall things,
may with all speed be rid and dispatched
out of the way; and if they cannot obtaine
their request at thy hands, SAFETIE
it selfe cannot save and preserve this
Common-wealth: and the Historians
will publish to the succeeding age, that
the most cleere shining dayes of England
under Queens ELIZABETH, ended
in a loathsome evening, or rather into
an eternall darke night. The posterity
will finde lack of our prudence, who
(which thing doth accumulate our mi-
serie) could see our evils, and could not
prevent them, and will impute the masse
of our miseries not so much to the malice
of our adversaries, as to the carelesse and
slothfull negligence of these times. Let
not the life of one Scottish woman pre-
ponderate and be of more weight with
thee, than the universall safetie of Eng-
land. Let there be no stay nor delay used
in so great a matter, for that forbearance
and delay procureth danger: neither let
space and time be given unto these wicked
plotters

plotters and contrivers of mischief, who
 now will seeke their last succour and
 helpe by bold and audacious adventures,
 and besides their impunitie, will hope
 for a reward for their mischievous acti-
 on. He that doth not beware to avoid
 a danger as much as he can, doth tempt
 God more than trust in God. All the
 dangers whatsoever hang over our heads
 from fortaunc Princes, by her death will
 be taken away, neither can they hurt
 England, but by her. What will and
 power soever the Pope hath to doe hurt,
 will cease and come to nothing when shee
 is gone. The King of Spaine hath no
 reason to be angry, for that he himselfe,
 for his owne security, made away his on-
 ly son Charles, and at this time doth lye
 in wait to take away the life of Don
 Antonio the Portugal, to serve his
 owne ambition. The French doth re-
 ligiously observe and keepe the amitie
 with England, and it also much con-
 cerneth his good, that by the speedy death
 of the Scottish Queene, the hopes of the
 Guises, who relying and trusting upon
 the hoped and future power of their
 Kinswoman, doe now more insolently
 insult

insult over their King. The King of Scotland, both by naturall affection, and in respect of his honour, may indeed be grieved or disquieted, yet in his wisdom hee will expect rather to have things long after with security, than to have things in over-much haste with danger. And the nearer he is to his chiefest hope, the further forraine Princes will hold off from jynning to helpe him, for as much as it is familiar and ordinary for them, by one meanes or other, to stop and hinder the increasing power of another Prince at the beginning.

They set before her eyes also domesticall examples, (for as much as that which is done by example, deserveth the more to be excused) How the Kings of England carried themselves toward their Cousins and Competitours for their owne security; namely Henry the first toward Robert his eldest brother, Edward the third, or rather his mother, toward Edward the second, Henry the fourth toward Richard the second, Edward the fourth toward Henry the sixth, and his sonne Edward Prince of Wales, and

und toward his owne Brother George Duke of Clarence, Henry the seventh toward the Earle of Warwick, the young sonne of the Duke of Clarence, Henry the eighth toward De la Pole Earle of Suffolke, Margaret, Countesse of Sarisburie, and Courtney Marquesse of Exceter; who every one for smaller matters, if the crimes be compared, were put to death and made away. Neither did the Courtiers alone buzze these things into the Queenes head, but also some Preachers very earnestly, and many of the Commons also out of hope or feare, exercised the fantasie of their brains & wits too fau- cily & malapertly in this argument.

Amongst these pensive thoughts which made the Queene so carefull and doubtfull, that she delighted in solitarinesse, and sat without any cheere, and sometimes without speaking a word, and oftentimes sighing, would mutter to her selfe, *Either beare it, or strike home*; and out of some obscure Embleme, *Kill, lest thou be killed*; she delivered to Davison, one of her Secretaries, letters signed

signed with her hand, that a Mandate should be made under the great Seale of England, for the putting of her unto executiō, which might be readie, if any danger were ready to fall, & commanded him not to communicate the matter to any man. But on the next day shee, whilst feare did not allow her owne counsell changing her mind, commanded Davison, by *William Killigrew*, that the Mandate should not be made up. He forthwith came to the Queene, and told her that the Mandate was made and sealed with the great seale: She chafing, reproved him for making such haste; neverthelesse hee communicated the Mandate and business unto the *Queenes* Councillors, & perswaded them, who quickly beleaved that which they desired, that the Queen commanded that it should be put in execution without delay: Beale, than whom there was none more evill affected unto the *Queene of Scotland* for Religion, is sent with one or two executioners and letters, in the which au-

thoritie is given unto the Earles of Shrewsburie, Kent, Darby, and Cumberland, with others, that she should be put to death, according to the Lawes, (unknowing to the Queen) and although at that very time shee had signified unto Davison, that shee would take another way and course about the Queene of Scotland, yet he did not call Beale backe.

As soone as the Earles came to Fotheringhay, they came to her, with Amias Poulet and Drengh Drury, in whose custody she was; and signified the cause of their comming, reading the Mandate, & in few words admonished her to prepare her selfe unto death, for that she was to die the next day. She without feare, and with a seled minde, answered, I did not thinke that Queen ELIZABETH my sister would have consented unto my death, for I am not subject unto your Law; but since it is otherwise, death shall be unto me most welcome, neither is that soule worthy of the heavenly & everlasting joyes, whose body cannot endure one blow of the hangman. Shee requested that

that shee might conferre with her Almoner, her Confessor, and with *Melvin* her Steward. They in plaine terms denied her confessor to come unto her; and the Earles commended the Bishop or Deane of *Peterburgh* for to comfort her; whom when she had rejected, the Earle of *Kent* being fiery hot in Religion, turned unto her, and amongst other words, broke out into these; *Thy life will be the destruction of our Religion, as on the other side, Thy death will be the life of the same.* Mention being made of *Babington*, she constantly and utterly denied that she knew of his plots; left the revenge unto God. And being demanded of that which was done by *Naum* and *Curlin*, shee asked if ever it was heard, that the servants were suborned and admitted as witnesses to the death of their Masters. When the Earles were departed, shee commanded them to make haste with her supper, that she might set things better in order. She supped sparingly and soberly, as her manner was. In supper time,

beholding her men and maid-ser-
 vants mourning and weeping, with
 an undanted mind she bade them be
 of good cheere, and to abstaine from
 sorrow, but rather to rejoyce, for
 that she was to depart presently out
 of an abyss of evill, and turning un-
 to Burgon her Physitian, asked him if
 he did not observe that the force of
 truth was great. They said I must die,
 for that I was of counsell to kil the Queen;
 neverthelesse the Earle of Kent insinua-
 teth that there is no other cause of my
 death, but that they feare their Religion,
 by reason of me. Neither is my offence a-
 gainst the Queene, but their feare
 they have of me, hath hastened and
 procured my death, whilest many seeke
 privately their owne ends and purposes
 under the borrowed cloake of Religion and
 the publike good. Toward the end of
 supper shee drinketh unto all her
 servants, who pledged her on their
 knees in their order, mingling their
 teares with the wine, & asking par-
 don for the neglect of their duty, as
 shee also of them. After supper shee
 read over her testament, readeth o-

ver the inventory of her goods and moveables, and writ on them the names of them unto whom shee appointed them: unto some shee gave money with her owne hand. She writeth unto her Confessor, to pray unto God for her, and also she wrote letters of commendation unto the *French King*, and unto the Duke of *Guise*, for her servants. She went to bed at her ordinary houre, and slept certaine houres; being awaked, she spent the rest of the night in praises.

The fatall day beginning to breake (*viz.* the vi. Ides of February) she apparelled her selfe neatly and finer, as she used to be on Festivall daies, and calling her servants together, read over her will, and requested them to take in good part the legacies shee gave, since that her ability was not to bestow any more, and then setting her mind all upon God, with all humility, in her Chappell, besought him to give her his grace and fa-

your, with sighs, teares, and
 praiers, untill the time that *Tho-*
mas Andrewes, Sheriffe of the Shire,
 told her that she was to come forth.
 Shee came forth Majestically, in
 stature, beautie and shew, with a
 cheerefull countenance, matron-
 like apparell, and very modest,
 her head being covered with a lin-
 nen veile, and the same hanging ve-
 ry low, her beads hanging downe at
 her girdle, & carrying a *Crucifix* of
 Ivory in her hands. In the gallery
 the Earles and other Gentlemen
 received her, where *Melvin* her
 servant on his knees, and with tears
 in his eyes, lamented his fortune,
 that he should carrie this heavie
 and sad newes of the wofull death
 of his Lady into Scotland. Shee
 comforting him, said, Doe not la-
 ment, but rather be glad, thou shalt
 straight-waies see *MARY STV-*
ART delivered and freed from all cares.
 You may tell them that I die constant
 in my Religion, and firme in fidelity
 toward Scotland and France, God
 forgive them who have thirsted for my
 bloud,

blond, as the Hart doth after the spring
of water. Thou our God who art truth it
selfe, and perfectly & thorowly dost know
the most secret corners of my heart, dost
know how much I desire that the
Realmes of England and Scotland
might bee united in one. Salute my Son,
and certifie him, that I have done no-
thing that may be prejudiciall unto the
Kingdome of Scotland: will him to
keepe friendship with the *Queene* of
England; and see that thou serve him
faithfully.

And then teares falling from her
eyes, shee bade *Adelwin* farewell a-
gaine and againe. And turning to
the Earles, shee requested that her
servants might be courteousely used, and
that they might enjoy those things which
shee had bequeathed them, that they might
stand by at her death, and be sent into
their Country with a safe-conduct.
They promised the former things,
but the Earle of *Kent* shewed him-
selfe strange, fearing some supersti-
tion. Shee said, Fear not, these wret-
ches desire to give me their last farewell.
I know my sister *ELIZABETH* would

not deny me so small a favour, as to have my maids to be present, if it be but for woman-hood sake. I am most neere of kinne unto her, I come from King HENRY the seventh, I am Queene Dowager of France, and the annointed Queene of Scotland.

When she had said thus, and turned away, she was permitted to have those of her servants present whom shee would name. She nominated *Melvin*, *Burgoyne* her Physician, the Apothecarie and Chirurgeon, and two maids, and others, of the which *Melvin* bore up her traine. So, the Gentlemen, two Earles, and the Sheriffe of the Shire going before her, she came to the scaffold, which was set up in the upper end of the Hall, in the which was a chaire, a cushion, a blocke, and all covered with blacke cloth. As soone as she sat downe, silence being made, *Baile* read the commission, and she heard attentively, as if it had beene another matter. Then *Fletcher*, Deane of *Peterburgh*, began a tedious speech unto her of
the

the condition of her life formerly past, and the present, and that to come. Once or twice shee interrupted his speech, *and desired him not to trouble her, and protested that she was seiled in the ancient Catholike Religion, and was ready to end her life in the same.* And when he perswaded her earnestly to do true penance, and with a firme faith, to put her hope in Christ, she answered, *that she was borne and bred, and would now end her life in that Religion.* And unto the Earles, saying that they would pray for her, shee said, *shee would give them many thanks if they would pray with her, but I should offend much, if I did communicate in praier with you who are of another profession.* Then they bade the Deane to pray, and when the whole company there assembled praied together, shee falling on her knees, carrying the *Crucifix* before him in her hands together with her servants, prayed in Latine out of the *Office of our Lady.*

After the Deane had ended his prayers, Shee in the English

tongue commended unto God the
 Church, her sonne, and Queene
 ELIZABETH, and besought
 him to avert his indignation from
 this Isle, and professed that shee re-
 posed her hope in the blood of
 Christ, (and lifted up the Crucifix)
 and desired all the company of hea-
 ven to make intercession unto him
 for her; she forgave all her enemies,
 and kissing the Crucifix, and sig-
 ning her selfe with the Crosse, shee
 said, *As thy arms, O Christ, were spread
 abroad on the Crosse, so, with the stret-
 ched out armes of thy mercy receive mee,
 and forgive me my sinnes.* Then shee
 forgave the Executioners, who as-
 ked pardon. And when her maids
 had taken off her upper garments,
 shee hastening them, they cried
 out amaine, shee kissing them and
 signing them with the Crosse, and
 smiling bade them farewell. Her
 face being covered with a linnen
 cloth, lying on the blocke, shee
 said the Psalm, *In te Domine con-
 fide, ne confundar in eternum.* Then,
 as shee stretched out her body, and
 of-

oftentimes repeated, *In manus tuas Domine commendo spiritum meum*, her head was cut off at two blowes. The Deane saying aloud, *So let the enemies of Queene ELIZABETH perish*, the Earle of Kent saying the same, and the multitude fighting and grieving thereat. Her body was embawmed, and was after buried like a Prince in the Cathedrall Church of *Peterburgh*. And her funerals were kept most magnificently at *Paris*, at the charges of the *Guises*, who performed all the best offices of kindred for their Cousin, both alive and dead, to their great commendation.

In this lamentable manner ended her life MARY *Queene* of Scotland, the great grand-daughter of Henry the seventh, by his eldest daughter, in the XLVI. yeere of her age, and the XVII. yeete of her captivity. A woman most constant in her Religion, adorned with a wonderfull piety toward God, wisedome above her sex, and was also very faire and beautifull;

And

And is to bee accounted one of those Princes, whose felicity was changed into adversity. In her infancy she was with strife desired for wife, by King *Henry* the eighth of *England*, for his sonne *Edward*, and by *Henry* the second, King of *France* for *Francis* the *Dolphin*. At the age of five yeeres shee was carried into *France*, and at the age of fifteene yeeres married unto the *Dolphin*. She flourished, and was *Queen* of *France* one yeere and foure moneths. Her husband being dead, shee returned into *Scotland*, and was married againe unto *Henry* *Stuart* Lord *Darley*, and had by him *JAMES*, the first Monarch of great *Britaine*: Tossed and turmoiled by *Murrey*, her bastard brother, and other her ungrate and ambitious subjects, deposed from her Kingdom, and driven to flie into *England*, and circumvented and entrapped (as men speaking indifferently thinke) by sundry *Englishmen*, carefull of the conservation of their Religion, and of the safety of *Queen*

Queen ELIZABETH, and thrust forward by others, desiring much to restore the Romane Religion: and oppressed by the testimonies of her Secretaries who were absent, and (as it seemed) corrupted with rewards. Neere to the grave an Epitaph in the Latine tongue was affixed, and forthwith taken away.

Maria

Maria Scotorum Regina,
Regis filia, Regis Gallorum vi-
dua, Regine Anglia Agnata, &
heres proxima, virtutibus re-
gis & animo Regio ornata, jure
Regio, frustra sapius implorato,
barbara & tyrannica crudelitate,
ornamentum nostri seculi, & lu-
men vere Regium extinguitur: eo-
demque nefario judicio & Maria
Scotorum Regina morte natur-
ali, & omnes superstites Reges, pl-
beii facti, morte civili multan-
tur. Novum & inauditum tu-
muligenus, in quo cum vivis
mortui includuntur, hic extat:
cum sacris enim divae Mariæ cine-
ribus omnium Regum atque Prin-
cipum violatam, atque prostratā
Majestatem hic jacere scito; &
quia tacitum regale satis super-
que Regis sui officii monet, plura
non addo viator.

Which may be Englished thus:

Mary Queene of *Scotland*, daughter of a King, widow of the King of *France*, kinswoman and next heire to the Queene of *England*, adorned with Royall Vertues, and a Princely spirit, having often, but in vaine implored the right of a Prince; the ornament of our age, and the true princely light is extinguished by a barbarous and tyrannicall cruelty. And by the same wicked judgment, both *Mary* Queen of *Scotland* is punished with a naturall death, and all Kings living are made common persons, & punished and made liable unto a civill death. A strange and unheard kind of grant is here extant, in which the living are included with the dead, for with the ashes of this blessed *Mary*, know thou that the Majesty of al Kings and Princes lye here depressed & violated; and because the Regall secret doth sufficiently admonish Kings of their dutie, O Traveller I say no more.

Out

Out of this lamentable fortune of so great a Prince, the disposition of the divine providence most evidently appeared (as some wise men have observed.) For those things which the **Queens, ELIZABETH** and **MARY**, chiefly wished and studied to procure, by this meanes came to passe. **Queene MARY** (which also shee said at her death) desired nothing more earnestly, than that the divided Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland* might be united in the person of her deare son. And the other wished for nothing more, than that the Religion by her established in *England*, might bee kept and conserved, with the safety and securitie of the people. And that Almighty God did heare their prayers, *England* to her unexpected felicitie doth now see, and with great joy acknowledge.

As soone as word was brought to **Queene ELIZABETH**, that the **Queene of Scotland** was put to death, she not thinking thereof, she heard it, with great indignatio, she

looked heavily and could not speak a word, and ready to swoone for sorrow, in so much that she put on mourning apparell, and grieved exceedingly, and lamented very much. She caused her Councillors (being reproved & forbidden her presence) to bee examined, and commanded Davison to be brought into the Star-Chamber. And as soone as her dolour would permit her, she in great haste wrote this letter following unto the King of Scotland with her owne hand, and sent it by Mr. Robert Cary, one of the Lord of Hansdons sonnes.

Deare brother, I would to God you did know, but not feele, with what incomparable grieve my mind is tormented and vexed, by reason of the lamentable event which hath befallen contrary to my mind and wil, which you shall understand fully by my Cousin; forasmuch as I cannot abide and endure to set it downe by writing. I beseech you that as God and many others can beare witnesse unto my innocency in this matter, so I desire you to beleve, that if I had commanded it, I
would

would never have denied the same. I am not of that base mind, that for any terror, I should feare to doe that which is just, or to deny it being done. I do not so degenerate from my Ancestors, nor am I of such an ignoble mind. But as it is not the part of a Prince to cover and cloake the sense of his mind with words, so will I never dissemble nor glose mine actions; but I will performe that they shall come to light, & appeare to the world in their colours. I would have you bee assuredly perswaded, that as I know that this was done upon desert, so if I had imagined it, I would not have put it over upon any other, neither yet will I impute that to my selfe, which I did not so much as thinke. Hee who shall deliver you these Letters, shall acquaint and impart other things unto you. As for mee, I would have you to beleve, that there is none other who loveth you better, and beareth better affection to you, or that will have a more friendly care of you & your affairs. If any one suggesteth, or putteth other things into your head, I would have you to thinke that he beareth more good will and affection to others than to you. God Almighty

mightie keepe you in health, and
preserve you alwaies.

In the meane time that Mr. *Cery*
was in his journey with these Let-
ters, *Davison* was brought into the
Star-chamber, before the Commis-
sioners appointed, viz. *Christopher*
Wray, Lord Chiefe Justice of the
Kings Bench, made for that time
Lord Keeper of the Privie Seale, the
Archbishops of *Canterburie* and
Yorke, the Earles of *Worcester*, *Cum-*
berland, and *Lincolne*, the Lords, *Gray*
and *Lundey*; *James Croft* Knight,
Controller of the *Queenes* House,
Sir *Walter Mildmay*, Chancellor of
the Exchequer, Sir *Gilbert Gerrard*,
Master of the Rolles, *Edmund An-*
derson, Lord Chiefe Justice of the
Common Pleas, & *Roger Manwood*,
Lord Chiefe Baron of the Exche-
quer. Before these Commissioners,
Popham the *Queenes* Atturney,
charged *Davison* with contempt
against her Majesty, violation of his
faith, and neglect of his duty; that
whereas the *Queene* out of her in-
bred clemency, would not have the
Queene

Queen of Scotland though condemned to be put unto death, for causes knowne to her selfe, and not to be searched & pried into by others, could not be brought thereunto, neither by the estates of the Kingdome, nor by her Counsellors earnestly urging her thereunto; nevertheless, had commanded a *Mandate* to be made for her execution, to prevent dangers that might ensue, and had committed it unto the fidelitie and secrecie of *Davison*; He being her sworn Secretary, forgetting trust and dutie, and in contempt of her Majesty, contrary unto which the Queene had commanded, had imparted it unto the Counsellors, and put it in execution, shee being utterly ignorant thereof.

Davison with great modesty, and quietly, yet with a good courage answered, *That he was sorrie, that in a most just cause of the Queene of Scotland, and most rightie judgement against her, if ever there was any, that he should trouble againe the Commissioners, if not with the losse, yet at the least with the*

the impairing of his reputation, which hee esteemed above all other things: But hee was most agrieved that hee was charged to have offended most contemptuously against her Majesty, who the more she had bin bountifull to him, and he more bound for her bounty, his offence might seeme more baineous. If he should acknowledge himselfe guilty of the crimes objected, he should wrong his credit, which was dearer unto him than his life. If he should contest in his owne defence with the Queene, hee should doe a thing unworthy of the obedience of a subject, the duty of a servant, and the fidelity of a Secretary. He protested before God and the Commissioners, That wittingly or willingly hee had done nothing in this thing, but that which hee was perswaded in his conscience the Queene willed: In the which if he had carried himselfe to doe any hurt, either by unskilfulnesse, or by negligence, he could not choose but be grievously sorrie, and undergoe willingly the censure of the Commissioners.

As concerning particulars: when
the

the *Queene* reprov'd him that he had sealed the *Mandatum* with the great Seale in such great haste ; he affirmed, *That shee insinuated, but did not expressely bid him to keepe it to himselfe. Neither did he thinke that he committed any fault against the trust of silence put on him, since he never spake word of this matter, but unto the Privy Counsellors. Unto that he did not call back the Mandatum, after that the Queene had signified unto him, that shee had changed her minde. he affirmed, That it was agreed that it should be sent forthwith, and execution done, lest the Common-wealth or the Queene might take some harme.*

Hereupon *Egerton*, the Solicitor, began to presse *Davison* out of his owne confession, reading a peece thereof, but he requested him to read it all, and not this peece and that peece ; but yet hee had rather it should not be read at all, for that therein some secrets not to be uttered were contained; and now and then interrupting him, he said, *That as he would not contest with the*
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Queene, so he could not endure that his modesty should be any detriment unto the truth and his integritie. Gaudy and Puckering, Sergeants at Law, reproved him sharply with many words, that craftily hee abused the wisdom of the Counsellors, and that out of the confession of *Burghley* the Treasurer, unto whom doubting whether the *Queene* had assuredly determined of the execution to be done, he affirmed it very earnestly, as he did also unto the rest, who set their hands unto the letters of the manner of the execution. *Davison* with teares in his eyes, required the Lawyers not to presse him so vehemently: And wished them to remember that hee would not contest with the *Queene*, unto whose conscience, and unto the censure of the Commissioners hee committed himself wholly.

To conclude, by the generall censure of them, hee was fined at ten thousand pound, and imprisonment at the *Queenes* pleasure.

Davison besought the Commissioners

millioners to make intercession unto the Queene for him, not for the honourable place of Secretarie, which he had, or his libertie, or for the diminishing of the fine imposed, but that he might be restored unto her favour, which yet hee never recovered, though she oftentimes releevd his wants. So Davison an honest man without policie, and not skilfull in affaires of State, was brought, as most men thought, upon the Stage amongst the States-men, to play his part a while in this Tragedie, and straight had his disguise pulled off, and as if he had failed in the last Act, thrust from off the stage, and kept long in prison, but not without the commiseration of many. Now I have told what was publicly done against Davison; but how he excused himselfe privately, take briefly out of his credit, and his Apologeticall Narration unto *Walsingham*.

He saith, after the departure of the French and Scottish Ambassadors, the Queene of her owne minde commanded

ded me to shew unto her the Mandate of the execution of the sentence against the Queene of Scotland. And it being shewen, she willingly signed with her hand, and commanded it, being thus signed, to be sealed with the Great Seale of England, and jesting, said, Signifie this thing unto Walsingham, who was sick, yet I feare much that hee will dye for sorrow thereof. Moreover, she said that the causes of the delaying thereof, were, lest she should seeme to be thought to be drawne thereunto upon violence or malice, when yet shee knew that it was very necessarrie. Moreover, she blamed Powlet and Drury that they had not freed her of this care, and wished that Walsingham would try their mindes in this matter. On the next day, when it was sealed with the Great Seale, shee commanded by Killegrew that it should not be done; and when I had told her it was already done, shee reprehended so much haste, insinuating that some wise men thought another way might be taken. I answered that the course which was most just, was al-

wayes the best and most safe. But fearing shee would lay the fault upon me (as shee laid the death of the Duke of Norfolk upon Burghley) I communicated all the matter unto Hatton, protesting that I would not thrust my selfe into so great a businesse; he presently imparted it unto Burleigh, Burleigh unto the rest of the Counsellors, who all gave their consent to the quick dispatch of the execution, and every one vowed to stand to it, and to sticke one to another: and sent Beale with the Mandate and Letters. The third day after, when I perceived that her minde wavered, bearing her tell a dreame of the death of the Queene of Scotland, I asked if she had changed her minde; shee said no, but, said shee, another way might have beene invented: and withall asked if any answer were come from Powlet. And when I had shewed him letters, wherein, in plaine termes, he refused to take upon him that which was neither honorable nor just; shee chafing, said, that he and others, who had taken the oath of the Association, were perjured and forsworne men, as they who had promised

mised many things, but would performe nothing. But I shewed her how unjust and infamous this would be, and into what danger shee brought Powlet and Drury. For if shee approved and allowed the fact, shee should draw to her selfe both danger and dishonour, with the note of injustice; but if shee disavowed and disallowed the fact, she overthrew utterly those well deserving men and their posterity. And afterward she, on the same day the Queene of Scotland was put to death, slightly checked mee, that the execution was not done.

What grieve and anger soever Queene ELIZABETH conceived, or made shew of, for the death of the Queen of Scotland, I am sure the King of Scotland, her only son, tooke it wonderfull heavily, who with the most admirable piety that could be in a sonne, revered his most deare mother, and mourned and lamented for her exceedingly. For he did not thinke that Queene ELIZABETH, in regard of the mutuall love that was betweene them, and the league of stricter friendship

Y 2 lately

lately made betweene them, neglecting the so many intercessions of Princes, would have delivered his mother, a Prince of equall estate, and her neereſt Couſin of the Royall blood, into the hands of a baſe hangman. He ſuffered not Mr. Robert Cary, ſon to the Lord Hunſdon (who was ſent from England to excuſe the Queene, by laying the fault upon her Counſellors and Daviſon) to come into Scotland, and hardly would heare him by another man, and with much ſuit received the letters he brought: Called his Ambaſſadour out of England, and threatened revenge. And ſome there were that perſwaded him that other Princes of Chriſtendome would not let ſuch an injury done unto the Maieſty and Royall name of a King, goe unpuniſhed.

The Eſtates of Scotland who were aſſembled in great number, profeſſed that they were moſt ready to revenge the death of his mother, and to defend his right to the Crowne of England, yea and to ſpend their lives

lives and goods in the quarrell, and that they could not digest the injury done, not only unto the King, but also unto the whole Nation of the *Scots*.

Some there were who perswaded the King to require aid of ships, and of a Navie of the King of *Denmarke*, unto whose daughter he began then to sue for mariage.

Some who were addicted to the *Romane* Religion, suggested unto him, that he should rather joyne with the Kings of *Spaine* and *France*, and with the *Pope*, and so he might with ease get the possession of *Englmd*. And above all things to give no credit unto the Protestants of *England*, who now ruled all, and closely plotted to destroy him also: whispering this in his eares, *He that hath killed the mother, will also kill the children if he can.*

Some there were who secretly advised him to keepe himselfe as Newter openly, & to hold both the Protestants and Romanists in suspence. For if that he shewed himselfe

openly for the Protestants, the Romanists of *Europe* will lay all their plots against him, and would set up another prop and stay in *England* to his great danger.

Some also there were who advised him to keepe a firme peace with *England*, and not to put his certaine hope upon the uncertaine fortune of war. And to be constant in his religion, in the which if he once wavered, he should neither get nor purchase friends, nor lessen, nor diminish his enemies. Thus every man as their fancie gave, or their profit lead them, spake. But the King being more provident, and more wittie than his age gave him, used no haste, which is alwaies blinde, but weighed their counsels in his minde considerately and maturely a long time, both with himselfe and a very few others.

But **Queene ELIZABETH** by laying all the fault on *Darison*, and the rash credulity of her Counsellors, so to mitigate his griefe and sorrow by little and little, lest the

the comfort given out of season, might more exasperate him, and so stayed untill his sorrow lessened by length of time, would suffer it selfe to be handled. But when she saw the *French* egge on the King to revenge, she fearing lest he by their policies, & upon a burning heat of revenge should be drawn away from the Religion of the Protestants, and the friendship of the *English*, she laboured with all her power to pacifie his minde, exulcerated, and in a manner alienated from her, by all meanes not unworthy of a Prince.

Therefore by her Messengers, and Agents, and after by the Lord *Hunsdon*, Governour of *Berwicke*, she proposeth these weightie and important Reasons most diligently. First, what a dangerous thing it may be for him to break into open warre against England for this cause, which seemed unto the Estates of England to bee as well necessary for the safety of the whole Island, as also most just. Then let him consider if he be of abilitie to take such a warre in hand, for as much as England

was never better furnished with Military men and Leaders, with forces and riches; and Scotland exhausted with intestine warres, never more weake. If he depended upon forraine aid, with what great difficulty, and how long it would be ere he can get it, and if he doe obtaine it, what successe can be hope for, since that England having the fleets of Holland and Zealand joyned thereunto, hath no cause to feare the most mighty and potent Kings of Europe? What hope can be place in the French King, or the King of Spaine? For as much as his power much increased and augmented by the accession and addition of England, may crosse or impeach their designs and purposes, for that his Religion may be so opposed unto their profession, that they cannot helpe and aid him, but with their owne losse and detriment. Neither can the French King see with a contented minde, the King of Scotland to be augmented with the Kingdom of England, for feare lest hee should with warre prosecute the ancient right of the English-men in France, or else give helpe or succour unto the Guises, his

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Consins, who at this time gave after the Realme of France. But the King of Spaine without all doubt will doe all things to serve his ambitious humour, forasmuch as he vaunteth himselfe to be the first Catholike Prince of the blood Royall of England, and the stocke of Lancaster, though untruly. In respect of which, some Iesuits and others also endeavoured to advance him, whilst the Queen of Scotland was yet living, unto the Crowne of England, as a man most fit to restore the Roman authoritie in England (the mother and the source being not respected nor regarded.) Moreover, they perswaded him, that she determined in her last Will and Testament, so bequeath the Kingdome of England unto this King of Spaine, if her sonne continued in the Religion of the Protestants.

What may be the meaning of these things, and wherunto they may tend, and what aid and helpe can be hoped for from the King of Spaine, the King may thereby see and perceive : And withall, if hee shall revolt and fall from his Religion, in the which he hath
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bene brought up, with what great ignominie he may precipitate and cast head-long his soule into eternall damnation, and the whole Island of Brittain into danger and destruction. Moreover, he is to consider and be advised, lest the Estates of England, who have given sentence against his mother, doe not exclude him altogether from the right of Succession, by a new sentence, whose love, by yeelding and giving place unto necessity, and restraining the passionate motions of his minde, he may easily winne and purchase unto him, forasmuch as that which is done, cannot bee undone. And at his time he may possesse and enjoy quietly the most flourishing Kingdome of England. In the meane time, he may enjoy securitie, and may seeme with all men, indifferent men, that have understanding and consideration of things, to have received no blemish in his honour, for as much as when time was, he omitted no part of a most pious and vertuous soune toward his mother, and let him assuredly perswade himselfe, that the Queene of England would account and use him most lovingly and affectionately,

felicitately, as if she were his own mother.

These things she caused to be beaten into the head of the King of Scotland, & that he should not doubt but that his mother was put to death without her knowledge; and to confirme him in that opinion, shee determined to send unto him the sentence given against *Davison* in the *Starre-chamber*, under the hands of all the Commissioners, and also under the Great Seale of *England*: And also another instrument (to please him the more) signed with the hands of all the Judges of *England*, wherein they confirmed that the sentence given against his mother, was no hurt unto his right in succession, nor could be any prejudice unto the same.

And thus an end of this History.

FINIS.